DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 098 083 SO 007 427

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TITLE The Social Science Teacher. 1972. Collected Conference Papers: Social Science Concepts Classroom Methods.
INSTITUTION Association for the Teaching of the Social Sciences (England).
PUB DATE Apr 72
NOTE 47p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.75 HC-$1.85 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS Comparative Education; *Concept Teaching; Conference Reports; *Curriculum Development; *Integrated Curriculum; Intellectual Disciplines; Secondary Grades; Social Influences; Socialization; Social Sciences; *Social Stratification; Social Structure; *Social Studies; Socioeconomic Status; Sociology; Teaching Methods
IDENTIFIERS Bruner (Jerome)

ABSTRACT

Papers in this publication are collected from a conference on social science concepts and classroom methods which focused on the theories of Jerome Bruner. The first article, entitled "Jerome Bruner," outlines four of Bruner's themes--structure, readiness, intuition, and interest--which relate to cognitive learning. Three papers--"Socialization" by Hedy Brown, "Teaching Social Stratification" by David Weir, and "The Concept of Stratification in Introductory Economics" by Pat Noble--discuss social science concepts developed into work units by study groups at the conference. Reports from three secondary work unit study groups explore possible ways of approaching the social science concepts. A final topic, integrated studies, is treated in two papers: "The Schools Council Integrated Studies Project," a report of a lecture by David Bolam, and "Social Science and Integrated Studies" by Martin Shipman. Both of these papers discuss the Schools Council curriculum project. (JH)

ED 099083

The Social Science Teacher 1972

Published by the Association for the Teaching of Social Sciences

Collected Conference Papers:

Social Science Concepts and Classroom Methods

SO 007 427

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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Social Science Concepts and Classroom Methods

Didsbury College of Education
April 5-9, 1972

Conference Aims

1. The conference had two primary objectives:-

   (a) to bring together teachers and lecturers in the social sciences so that they could exchange ideas and discuss common problems;

   (b) to produce work units for implementation in the classroom in specific areas of social science teaching within the general framework of the theories of Jerome Bruner. Members were invited to consult Bruner's two relevant publications before the conference — "Towards a Theory of Instruction" and "The Process of Education."

2. Although five days would be too short a time in which to develop comprehensive and fully operational work units, useful modules for further development in practical situations were envisaged. Equally important, the exercise was to constitute a valuable experience in curriculum development away from the insidious pressures of school or college.

3. It was hoped that the groups would benefit from their members' own previous teaching materials and resource suggestions whether these had been successful or not. All participants were urged to bring with them anything which would be relevant

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JEROME BRUNER

BRUNER'S central conviction is that intellectual activity is the same at the frontiers of knowledge **and** in the classroom. Curriculum reform thus would aim to narrow the gap between advanced and elementary knowledge. There is no intellectual difference between the classroom and the research worker's office.

This conviction manifests itself in three of Bruner's major themes:

1. STRUCTURE

Children are with their teachers but a short part of their lives. In this short time, how can we give them some valuable equipment for future use, for on-going application in their post-school careers ?

This equipment comprises, for Bruner, the basic concepts, principles and generalisations which constitute the structure of the discipline of a subject. The problem is, crucially, that of identifying those major concepts which constitute the structure of the disciplines with which we are concerned. Furthermore, we must ask:

(a) does Bruner's preoccupation with a 'subject' or a 'discipline' encourage only a subject-based curriculum rather than one which seeks to integrate or inter-relate disciplines, and are we allowing ourselves to be bound by existing subject bondaries which might themselves be held to be imposing an arbitrary, inflexible and 'false' order on the world ?

(b) are there any categorial concepts without which there would be no such discipline as Sociology? (e.g. socialisation and statification).

(c) how can we take cognisance of changing paradigms within, and overriding, subject-boundaries ? (cf. Kuhn's Structure of Scientific Revolutions).

Bruner argues that disciplines do have a structure; furthermore that an understanding of those fundamentals (which are necessarily deep and powerful tools) carries significant advantages, notably that in learning how things are related structurally within a discipline. Thus the pupil finds it easier,

(i) to marshal, handle and remember facts,

(ii) to comprehend the whole area, and

(iii) to transfer learning to new situations and new problems with greater ease.

So, we are giving the pupil some cognitive apparatus to make and continue to make sense of the world, to interpret experience, that is to produce some cognitive and evaluative maps. (see below).

David Jenkins defines 'Cognitive and Evaluative Maps' thus: " the purpose of learning is to make sense out of experience. The notion of 'cognitive and evaluative maps' is an attempt to suggest important elements in the way 'pictures' of the external world are built up. Models of the world are internalised, allowing the learner to find his own way around, both cognitively and evalulatively. Given 'orientation' in this way he can extend his knowledge, and apply it interpretively to new situations. The 'maps' are patterns of relationships among ideas and concepts, built out of the concepts and models of enquiry of the disciplines as they contribute in a multiple approach to the 'area of enquiry'.

Once basic concepts and generalisations have been identified, they are introduced initially in an elementary form, then re-introduced later in greater abstraction and complexity. Thus a build-up, an accumulation of understandings which Bruner calls the 'spiral' curriculum.

Implications of the above? (1) Disciplines may need to be re-written in such a way as to make their structure crystal-clear, and this in turn may (2) require some on-going joint exploration and thought by (university) academics and classroom teachers; (3) teachers themselves must thoroughly grasp the structure the discipline(s) with which they are concerned.

2. READINESS

Bruner's important adage is that "Any subject can be taught in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development." The key concepts are as simple as they are central: comlexity is added with further re-introductions of concepts as the child progresses.

Bruner feels that we postpone too much until too late, and too readily accept that younger children (primary school) cannot appreciate fundamentals. He writes: "to be in command of these basic ideas, to use them effectively, requires a continual deepening of one's understanding of them that comes from learning to use them in progressively more complex forms. It is only when such basic ideas are put in formalised terms as equations or elaborated verbal concepts that they are out of reach of the young child if he has not first understood them intuitively and had a chance to try them out on his own."

Some commentators might hold that Bruner contradicts the Piagetian model of stages of development in the child, insomuch as he states that any subject (=structure = concepts/generalisations) can be taught to any child of any age; yet Bruner does assert that ideas must be presented in terms which can be understood by the child, in terms appropriate to his mode of thought. "What is most important for teaching basic concepts is that the child be helped to pass progressively from concrete thinking to the utilisation of more conceptually adequate modes of thought. But it is futile to attempt this by presenting formal explanations, based on a logic that is distant from the child's manner of thinking and sterile in its implications for him."

But whilst some, perhaps considerable, notice might be taken of stages of development, and furthermore, of appropriately translating the structure of a discipline into meaningful terms, perhaps we might ask:

(a) whether the stages of development themselves impose too rigid a view of the child's development — do we 'make' children fit into stages by our 'appropriate' teaching ?

(b) can the instruction of ideas not merely slavishly follow a "natural" course of cognitive development, but also **lead** intellectual development by providing challenging but usable oppotunities for the child to forge ahead in his development (by providing the child with problems that tempt him into the next stages).

Finally: Bruner holds that "if one respects the ways of thought of the growing child, if one is courteous enough to translate material into his logical forms and challenging enough to tempt him to advance, then it is possible to introduce him at an early age to the ideas and styles that in later life make an educated man. We might ask, as a criterion for any subject taught in primary school, whether, when fully developed, it is worth an

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adult's knowing, and whether having known it as a child makes a person a better adult. If the answer to both questions is negative or ambiguous, then the material is cluttering the curriculum." If the answer is positive, then the material is worth revisiting.

3. INTUITION

Bruner holds that young children can profitably make plausible, but tentative formulations without going through all analytical steps. They can, in the fashion of recognised scientists, make guesses, hunches and intellectual leaps. This they do on the basis of an intuitive understanding of the structure of the subject. And this involves the performance of problem-solving rather than the understanding at second-hand of heuristic devices. In other words, Bruner is concerned with the **doing** of subjects, rather than a mastery of the middle language of textbooks and discussion of secondary data. A young pupil is a physicist by virtue of doing physics, a sociologist by doing sociology. Young pupils are themselves at the frontiers of knowledge in this sense: they are discovering.

One fourth theme that Bruner raises is that of,

4. INTEREST

Bruner asks how we might stimulate the desire to learn, how we can improve the classroom climate. Maybe through teacher - training, maybe through a more relevant curriculum, maybe the abandonment of examinations so as to remove competition and lead to the treatment of material as ends rather than as means to other ends.

And, finally, where do we accept that the responsibility for encouraging the development of structure falls? Do we propose that teachers themselves are in the last analysis the agents that will guide pupils, i.e., "be the sole and final arbiter of how to present a given subject and what devices to use," or do we regard the teacher as "explicator and commentator for prepared materials made available through" the media.

An orientation to the former emphasises the crucial importance of teacher-training; an orientation to the latter emphasises the development of the 'best' materials from which teachers might choose.

Are these two polar positions irreconcilable?

SOCIALIZATION

HEDY BROWN

MAN'S values, his language, his ways of behaving are acquired in the course of his life, in direct or indirect interaction with other people. This continuous process of learning is referred to as **socialization.** Childhood socialization has received most attention but we have come to understand that though a child's early experiences are very important in shaping his later behaviour and values, socialization should be regarded as a lifelong process.

It is not surprising that such an all-embracing concept can be defined in more than one way. The two following definitions which embody fairly typical positions are subtly different in emphasis.

(1) " Socialization is the process by which the new-born child is moulded into the culture of his group and hence becomes an acceptable person in that society."

This kind of definition appears to stress that conformity to societal norms (rather than an individual's self-actualization) is the desirable outcome of the socialization processes.

A somewhat different expectation seems to be embodied in this further definition :

(2) " Socialization is the development of the human infant, through interaction with others, into a member of his society."

The emphasis, here, may be thought of as being placed on the **development of the individual;** on **interaction,** that is, the child is not viewed as the passive recipient of external reinforcement but as an active agent who influences as well as being influenced, on becoming **a member of society,** that is, the accord between the individual and his (existing, ready-made) society is still seen as one of the aims or results of the socialization processes.

The importance of socialization arises from the fact that man cannot live **outside** society. Helpless and unable to fend for himself at birth he depends for his **physical survival** and for his **psychological development** on those who care for him.

What does the child learn in these circumstances? He learns, first of all, the ways which are acceptable in his own group or society of satisfying his so-called basic physiological (or tissue) needs. His need for food, warmth, sleep and the elimination of waste products must be met for him to survive though in different societies different customs of meeting these needs have evolved. (Man's sexual needs do not have to be met for the **individual's** survival but their satisfaction is basic to the survival of the **species).**

Secondly, the child develops his so-called **secondary or social needs** in the particular society in which he lives and he also learns how to fulfil these needs (which are as important to him as his physiological needs once he has acquired them). For instance, status may accrue to the wealthy or to those who have several wives, or to those who are well educated or to battle heroes. A child is likely to acquire a need for the particular attributes or possessions which will give him status in his own society.

However, no perfect fit between the individual and his society is possible for the following reasons.

(a) there are innate individual differences in temperament and aptitudes and not everybody fits well into his particular society.

(b) the socialization process is hazardous and is not always leading to the desired effects if only because the child may be faced with contradictory influences.

(c) society changes and one's values and expectations may not fit present-day conditions. This, indeed, may, additionally, lead to the phenomenon of the 'generation-gap.' If the older generation is seen as out of line with the 'reality' as perceived by the younger generation its influence is weakened or rejected.

The child, then, learns how to satisfy his basic needs and he acquires (and learns how to satisfy) a variety of secondary needs. That much can be said on the basis of observation.

EXPLANATIONS OF LEARNING

It seems to me, that one also needs to question **why** man learns to behave in this way. Different answers can be suggested here. One might, for instance, state that since life outside society cannot be sustained a degree of consensus or conformity necessarily has to develop so that society can be maintained. However, this is a somewhat tautological explanation.

A different kind of explanation would involve the supposition of an innate curiosity drive—man learns because he is innately curious. There is something to be said for such a hypothesis; everybody learns a great many things he does not 'need' to know. Indeed it is known that a stimulating environment (to satisfy curiosity) is necessary for normal cognitive and perceptual development (see e.g., Hebb, 1949 [1]). However, a curiosity drive would not explain why man learns to become **like** his fellows; merely that he seeks out and responds to new experiences.

Another hypothesis would involve the supposition that man learns because he has an innate (or acquired) need to elicit a 'come-back' from others, that, in other words, he needs love, affection, companionship; indeed he might need the response to himself by others to the extent that he is willing, at times, to arouse wrath or anger in them rather than suffer non-attention and neglect. If one can assume such a need for a 'come-back' it would follow that a child or indeed an adult would wish to learn the ways of his society so as to ensure a meaningful response. There certainly is some evidence that, as Fantz (1961) [2] demonstrated, that young babies have an innate tendency to react to faces. Fantz found that a cartoon face was looked at more frequently by very young babies than a design of the same shape with exactly the same components but arranged in a 'meaningless' pattern. Harlow's (1959) [3] experiments showed that rhesus monkeys clung to a 'soft' mother even though milk was provided for them by a 'wire' mother. Can we conclude that the rhesus monkey has an 'instinct' to seek out a mother and that the stimulus quality it seeks is softness ? Even if one accepted this one would not necessarily be entitled to conclude that the human baby needs physical contact with a mother and that a close physical relationship is also a social relationship and hence the basis for the child learning from his mother.

Finally, another way of 'explaining' man's willingness to adapt to other people and to learn from them also rests on his early relationship with his mother. But rather than suggest that

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1 Hebb, D.O. (1949), The Organization of Behaviour, New York, Wiley.

2 Fantz, R. L. (1961), The Origin of Form Perception, Scientific American.

3 Harlow, H. C. (1959), Love in Infant Monkeys, Scientific American.

this relationship is based on an instinctive need for physical closeness it is derived from the interactional relationship which develops when the mother takes care of his physical needs and thereby develops social relationships with the infant.

It is probably not possible to arrive at a final conclusion concerning the origins of the socialization process, that is, whether it stems, initially, from the satisfaction of bodily needs or whether there is evidence for the hypothesis of an innate need for a psychological relationship with the mother, and later, other people.

What is clear is that most human behaviour is learned, that is, human beings unlike animals do not have instincts in the sense of behaviour which is :

(a) inborn and unlearned (though it has to be 'released,' triggered off, by appropriate environmental stimuli).

(b) common to all members of the species and

(c) relatively unmodifiable.

Thus, complex behaviour like nest-building or migration in birds or the instinct of a newly-hatched chicken or duckling to follow the first moving object (which would normally be its mother) are unlearned. Animals of course also learn but behaviour crucial to survival is normally instinctive. Thus, a sparrow may learn to peck at milk bottles but its territorial behaviour is instinctive.

Although human beings do not have ready-made patterns of behaviour at birth and depend on learning they differ genetically from each other and show individuality from birth in temperament, for example, in social responsiveness, sleeping and feeding patterns and in sensory thresholds. [4] They also differ in potential intelligence. When one discusses socialization or socialization processes these innate individual differences are often ignored, not because they are unimportant but because by convention the study of socialization tends to concentrate on processes of learning and the influences of external agents—parents, teachers, members of peer groups, etc. Innate and early differences among children tend to be central to a discussion of 'personality development' though personality itself is, in part, a response to the socialization experiences. Equally ignored (or taken as a 'given') in discussing socialization are maturational processes, that is, the child's physical growth and development which determine **what** a child can learn and **when**. For instance, he cannot be taught to control his bladder until his body is ready to do so.

The **product** of socialization or personality development—the adult person and his values and behaviour—depend on three interacting aspects.

a) innate, genetic, that is, constitutional aspects

b) child rearing practices, parent-child relationships and other social experiences: these environmental aspects are linked to and arise in

c) cultural differences within or between societies.

One may perhaps best express the interaction of these three factors by drawing on the analogy of the clay, the potter and the design. The child may be thought of as the clay which is moulded by the parent, the potter, according to the design common in his

4. Thomas, A., Chess, S., and Birch, H. B. (1970). 'The Origin of Personality,' Scientific American, August, 1970, vol. 223, No. 2, pp. 102-9.

culture or society. This analogy, of course, is very imperfect, if only because the child should not be thought of as a passive lump of uniform clay. Each child has his own unique genetic endowment and influences his parents as well as being influenced.

SOCIALIZATION AND SUBJECT DISCIPLINES

It is not surprising that socialization which is of such crucial importance to human beings should have been studied from different theoretical and methodological starting points. The main social science disciplines within which socialization has been studied are:

a) **Social anthropology** which focusses on the relationship between culture and personality and on how societies differ or resemble each other in child rearing practices.

b) **Sociology,** at any rate until recently, has been more particularly interested in the outcomes of socialization; thus the first definition of socialization given on page 1 is more sociological than the second one.

c) **Psychology & Social Psychology** have been concerned with human innate or acquired needs and with processes of socialization.

d) **Psycho-analysis** which stresses the importance of the affective quality of the parent-child relationship and which attempts to link personality characteristics and attitudes with the psychological experiences of the child in his family at different stages of his libidinal development.

These several disciplines have, of course, influenced and, to some extent, cross-fertilized each other. Nevertheless they are still characterized by their different theoretical frames of reference and foci of interest; these have given rise to different approaches and research methodologies and hence also to distinct findings.

Since I am a social psychologist (and since in a brief lecture one cannot discuss everything!) I should like to look at a question which has interested social psychologists for some time; this is the question of **how** we learn, a question to which one cannot give a unified or conclusive answer but one which is of both scientific and practical interest and perhaps of special concern to teachers.

REINFORCEMENT AND THE SHAPING OF BEHAVIOUR

A major contribution to our understanding of learning has been made by the so-called 'learning theorists' (so-called even though researchers and theorists working within different perspectives also study 'learning'). It is not easy to define their position (and how fully a particular contributor is part of this tradition) but briefly one can say that they are committed to a **stimulus-response analysis of behaviour** and a **tension-reduction** approach in studying the problems of motivation (but as I pointed out earlier man does not only do something or other because of a tissue deficit or excess). Learning theorists also emphasize the importance of **external reinforcement.** The extreme exponent of this position is Skinner.

Two major concepts of this school of thought (derived originally from animal experiments) are the notions of **reinforcement** and of the **shaping of behaviour.**

Reinforcement is defined as any event which makes more probable a response which it either precedes or follows with some regularity. Thus, in **operant conditioning** a reward is given **after** the emmission of behaviour

For instance, the pigeon pecks the correct disc and the food pellet drops. Or, the child sits down at the teacher's request and is rewarded with a smile, a word, a desired book, etc.

In the so-called classical (Pavlovian) conditioning the sound of the bell **precedes** the presentation of the meat; the dog learns this association and salivation occurs with the bell alone.

A great many experiments have been carried out on how to use reinforcement to good effect; one finding, for instance, is that once a response is established, intermittent reinforcement is most effective.

Reinforcement has been used for the **shaping** of responses by reinforcing approximations to the desired behaviour until eventually the exact form of behaviour has been established. If you can get a child to sit down at all (and if you reward him for this) he may learn to sit down for longer periods (because you will only reward him after a longer interval) and to read in his book or engage in whatever activity you wish to encourage him in.

The term **negative reinforcement** refers to punishment; it tends to **inhibit** a response. **Non-reinforcement** tends to extinguish a response.

It is most important to understand that whether or not a given action or event is reinforcing depends on the **social context** in which it occurs and on the relationship the child, adolescent or adult has formed with the reinforcing (or socializing) agent. If for instance the child prefers praise from his peers, praise from his teacher won't have the desired or anticipated effect. However, you can take care not to reinforce behaviour you wish to discourage by paying attention to it!

Once a deep emotional bond has been formed between the child and his parents any threat to its continuation provokes anxiety in the child. Parental disapproval or the threat, implied or explicit, of the withdrawal of love becomes a powerful force for the shaping of the child's behaviour. Saying this is very different from an extreme learning theory standpoint such as that taken by Skinner who regards socialization as a history of mechanistic reinforcements. He believes, for instance, that delinquents can be reformed or resocialized by rewarding discrete acts of behaviour. This belief is based on certain studies he has carried out but many other researchers have shown the complex problems of matching the delinquent and the particular style of treatment and education to which he is most likely to respond.[5] I cannot here go into such studies but I would like to point to two obvious obstacles in using operant conditioning methods in complex real life rather than laboratory situations. The obstacles are that we do not always know what reinforces the behaviour we wish to change (why does a child lie, what reinforces or causes his lying?) or else, we have no control over it. For instance, if a boy is a member of a gang, it is the approval of the group's members which is important to him and he cannot easily be manipulated or influenced by other rewards.

It is useful to understand the extent to which shaping and reinforcement of behaviour are effective; they are applicable to discrete acts of behaviour rather than to more global patterns and the social context in which they are applied is of paramount importance.

IMITATION AND IDENTIFICATION

We learn a great many things by **observation** and **imitation** (without necessarily deliberately learning or

5 See, e.g. Sealy, A. P. 'Social Maturity Training Experience and Recidivism amongst Borstal Inmates.' Brit. J. Crim. 1971.

without being taught), that is, we learn without the response being shaped or without necessarily experiencing any reinforcement. For instance, children learn many new words by imitation, thus they can repeat long words whose meaning they do not understand. Other words, of course, are learned by a combination of imitation, shaping and reinforcement. Children also copy the mannerisms of their fathers or brothers or the accents of the peer group (even when away from the group!). If all learning depended on the selective reinforcement and shaping of 'original' responses randomly emitted by the child the behavioural repertoire of the child would remain severely limited. If one, therefore, accepts that imitative behaviour is common, one still has to explain under what conditions or for what reasons it takes place. Children do not imitate behaviour indiscriminately. What is important is the child's relationship to a **model** and the qualities or the personal or 'role' attributes of the **model.** In the last decade or so a great deal of experimental work on imitation has been carried out.

What are some of the crucial factors which have been established in the laboratory as leading to imitation ? 6

a) **curiosity,** interest in novel or bizarre actions of the model leads to imitation;

b) imitation also happens if the **model is rewarded** for his behaviour or if he has **power** over resources, for example, over desirable toys.

c) imitation takes place if the **learner is rewarded** by the model that is, when his behaviour is **reinforced** in some way. The learner, however, can reward himself in imitating the behaviour of, and becoming like, an admired model.

Interestingly enough, however, one can demonstrate a difference between **learning** and **performance.** If children are rewarded for copying behaviour, they copy the behaviour of the model which was punished or was unrewarded equally well as the behaviour of the model which was rewarded. In laboratory experiments one also faces the problem that the demonstration of, say, the model hitting a doll, **releases** previously learned actions (since they are by implication shown to be acceptable) rather than that one has demonstrated that learning of a novel response has taken place. Whether or not the model is perceived as having power or as being rewarded depends also on previous experience and the level of the child's **cognitive development.** Furthermore, since it is likely that children imitate what to them are the interesting activities of the model the special qualities or attributes (e.g., of power over resources) may be redundant as explanatory factors. The perception of the appropriateness (or otherwise) of the role performed by the model may also influence how far he will be imitated. A male aggressive model tends to be more readily imitated than a female aggressive model.

Imitation refers to fairly short term copying of behaviour. Long-term adoption of behaviour or values may have to be explained by yet another concept —that of **identification.** This concept and the associated theories are relevant to an understanding of why some people matter more to a particular child and hence come to serve as models (or socializing agents). As Roger Brown, (1965) 7 says :

"Our minds are full of other people

6 See, e.g., Bandura, A., Ross D., and Ross A., 1963, 'A Comparative Test of the Status Envy, Social Power and Secondary re-enforcement theories of Identificatory Learning,' Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 67, 527-534.

7 Brown, R. (1965) Social Psychology (Part III) Collier-Macmillan.

but they do not all matter in equal degree."

The concept of identification was originally proposed by **Freud** in a number of his writings. His best known elaboration of the concept links identification closely with the **resolution of the so-called Oedipus complex** and the development of a **conscience** (Freud, 1949). [8] To resolve the anxieties caused by his jealousy of the father (whom he sees as a rival for his mother's affection) the young boy 'identifies' with his father, 'introjects' his values and becomes like him. In this way, his fear of his father is reduced and he can enjoy his mother's love vicariously. This proposition does two things: it attempts to explain the continuity of values across generations and it shows how the boy (though originally perhaps having closer links with his mother since she cares for him) comes to adopt a male identity.

Whether or not one accepts this explanation [9] the concept of identification is useful in describing **the acceptance of another person's values and attitudes.** It is this usage which the concept now has in the general body of psychological terminology. It is usually used to refer to the adoption of values and complex patterns of behaviour through intimate personal relationships with a model. The word 'imitation' is usually used to refer to the imitation or copying of specific items of behaviour as in the experiments by Bandura and others to which I made reference.

Later writers have produced other explanations to account for identification. Whiting (1960), [10] for instance, has suggested that **status envy** can lead to identification with another. Here envy is not thought of as arising out of sexual jelousy and rivalry — it is much more broadly and perhaps less interestingly conceived as envy of another who controls resources or has abilities the child wants but lacks himself. We have already seen that there is some experimental evidence for imitation under these conditions. It is only fair to point out that some authors who do not like abstract concepts (or hypothesised intervening processes) equate imitation and identification, taking the outward behaviour as being the visible sign of the invisible inward process of identification.

More interesting perhaps than the concept of status envy is the notion of **'developmental' identification.** The original Freudian account of the process of identification shows it has happening through fear and out of emotional conflict.

Identification then could be thought of as being defensive. Developmental identification (a concept used by more recent writers) on the other hand is thought of as arising from a positive relationship with a person on whom one is originally dependent and whom one wishes to be like. The interesting thing about this concept is that it can also be derived from learning theory propositions. One can assume that stimuli associated with a stimulus which is followed by reinforcement themselves become reinforcing. The child therefore comes to associate the satisfaction of his bodily needs with the presence of his mother who in the terminology of learning theorists acquires 'secondary reward value.' By

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8 Freud, S. (1949). The Passing of the Oedipus-Complex. In: Collected Papers, Vol.II. London, Hogarth.

9 This 'explanation' is not a scientific hypothesis since it can neither be proved nor disproved through unequivocal experimentation: it is an imaginative interpretation of the clinical data at Freud's disposal.

10 Whiting, J.W.M. (1960). Resource Mediation and Learning by Identification. In: I. Iscoe and H. W. Stevenson (eds.) : Personality Development in Children. Austin: University of Texas Press.

imitating her (developmental identification) the child rewards himself.

You may well feel that neither defensive nor developmental identification are concepts you find helpful in understanding social learning . They are hypothetical concepts and in the nature of things must remain so. However, these perhaps unsatisfactory concepts cannot be abandoned since **much of human learning cannot be explained in terms of the concepts of the 'reinforcement' theorists** discussed earlier in this paper, such as shaping of behaviour and reinforcement. This is a quite general problem of explanation in psychology: so much of what one aims to understand is due to 'intervening' variables or processes which remain hidden and therefore hypothetical.

ROLE LEARNING

We say that 'man is father to the child' (or not, as the case may be). But why and how? No full answer can be given to this question but here is one further suggested explanation : **The child learns through real or phantasy** role playing. In order to perform one's own role one must necessarily learn the roles which are complementary to one's own roles. The child learns the mother's role (her ways of behaving, her attitudes and values), the pupil learns the teacher's role, the house-hunter the estate-agent's role. This does not mean that we will adopt these roles (merely that we may at some time or other behave in accordance with one or other role in our behavioural repertoire).

COGNITIVE LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT

Finally, one must stress that cognitive development, the acquisition of knowledge, insight and judgement is part of the socialization process. The child learns moral rules and he learns to abstract from his experiences — for instance, he will note that parents say one thing and do another. He has to adapt to contradictory models and experiences. Whether or not one thinks, like Piaget, in terms of well-defined stages of cognitive development an emphasis on cognitive learning draws attention to the child as an active participant in the socialization process. Cognitive learning and language development reinforce each other; the importance of language lies not only in facilitating communication, explanation and the acquisition of knowledge, but in enabling one to think symbolically and to imagine the presence or reactions of others.

I have briefly discussed some aspects of four hypothesized processes of socialization — reinforcement and the shaping of behaviour, imitation and identification, role learning, and cognitive development.

Do these processes complement each other or are they mutually exclusive ? I think they are complementary and taken together give us some important insights. However, it would only be fair to state that extreme protaganists of one or other position would not necessarily agree with me. But you can easily look at some outcome or other of socialization and think of the various influences which may have been at work to produce it. For instance, take the problem of developing a sexual identity, a process which is not biologically inevitable. Does the boy need a masculine model with whom to identify or does he adopt a male role by imitation only or by the reinforcement of appropriate behaviour ?

LEARNING POLITICAL ATTITUDES

How does a person learn his political attitudes and through what processes? Butler and Stokes 11 have done some

11 Butler D. and Stokes D. (1969) Political Change in Britain. Macmillan (Penguin '71).

very interesting work on this. They found that most people acquire their political views in their **family** (the socializing agent) and one can readily apply the four processes I outlined to this learning experience. They found, however, that political views are not only learned in the family. **Social class** influences were strong where the party the parents supported was not the dominant party in their class, that is, if they were middle class Socialists or working class Tories. They found that where parents supported the dominant party in their class 85% of their children shared their political beliefs. However, only 58% of the children had common political attitudes with their parents where the parents, so to speak, were the odd ones out. Is one entitled to say that one can detect here the influence of the peer group who are taken as a model and become the socializing agent? Butler and Stokes also found that where each parent supported a different political party their children changed their party affiliations more frequently. Is this an example of the lack of a strong and consistent model? One should perhaps mention here that this kind of research into political attitude formation and change is fraught with difficulties. Unless one has the opportunity to interview both parents and their adult children one may find that mistakes may be made in recalling parental political attitudes — **either** because the child may have 'identified' with a somewhat misperceived parental model **or** because post-decisional cognitive dissonance reduction leads to a distortion of the remembered parental views.

This brief reference to some of the factors influencing the acquisition and changes in political views can be seen to refer back to a point I made at the beginning — that socialization should be thought of as a life-long process. The early years are particularly important in creating certain basic attitudes, values and expectations. All later influences are sought out, perceived and reacted to through the filter of what one has become through preceding socializing experiences. Thus, how a child responds to a teacher is influenced by his earlier experiences of other socializing agents as well as the nature and quality of the actual interaction of the teacher and child. This interaction is, of course, also influenced by the wider context in which it takes place— the attitudes of others who are present or to whom either the child or the teacher relates himself mentally and the 'structural' aspects of the school, such as its policy on streaming which may circumscribe if not determine relevant attitudes and behaviour.

Some readily available publications on:

SOCIALIZATION

Brown, H. and Corcoran, D.W.J. (1972)
Child Socialization in 'Socialization' Units 6-9, Understanding Society, Open University Press.

Brown, R. (1965)
Social Psychology (Part III)
Collier-Macmillan.

Danziger, K. (1971)
Socialization, Penguin Science of Behaviour, Penguin Books.

Morrison, A. and McIntyre, D. (1971)
Schools and Socialization. Penguin Science of Behaviour, Penguin Books

Mussen, P. (1967)
Early Socialization: Learning and Identification in Newcomb, T. M. (Ed.).
New Directions in Psychology III.
Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Zigler, E. and Child, I. L. (1969)
Socialization, in Lindzey, C. and Aaronson, E. (Eds).
Handbook of Social Psychology, 2nd edition, Vol. III, pp 450-589, Addison-Wesley.

Teaching Social Stratification: Some Observations and a Proposal

D. T. H. WEIR

Approaches to Teaching

There seem to be two major approaches to the teaching of any theoretical topic within the field of sociology. The first is what we might call the "great man in his theory" method. Here the exposition is mainly historical, developmental and exegetic. Another widely used introduction to theoretical topics is provided by the recasting of some extant body of work into the particular perspective of the teacher. I am thinking here of works like **Modern Sociological Theories** by Charles and Zona Loomis. The main theme of these second approaches is usually some variant of structural functionalism. It seems a fairly common ploy then to present other theories, say conflict theories, as constituting a sort of critique of the major school over all other alternatives to it. Perhaps a thorough going example of this kind of introduction is provided by Bredemeier and Stevenson's book : **The Analysis of Social Systems**, or possibly H. M. Johnson's **Sociology: A Systematic Introduction.** Of text in wide use in Britain, I suppose Stephen Cotgrove's book constitutes a major example. I believe that neither of these approaches is viable, in the context of the institutional and societal constraints on the teaching on the subject under which most of us are working. Perhaps we should look for a different approach, one hinted at, perhaps, by C. Wright Mills when he wrote'

> "Of method and of theory in general I do not need here to say any more. Frankly, I am nowadays made quickly weary by it so much discussion of it interupts our proper studies. I should much rather have one account by a working student on how he goes about his work than a dozen codifications of procedure by specialists who as often as not have never done much work of consequence Better still: if sometimes in our professional forum we wish to discuss method and theory rather than the substance of our studies, let us ask each man whom we believe to be doing good or superior work to give us a detailed account of his ways of work."

I believe that the two major approaches to teaching theoretical topics which I identified earlier really suffer from the same kind of complaint. That is, they are both predicated on the assumption that the "only good theorist is a dead theorist."
The point, the whole point, about stratification is that the sociological theory of stratification constitutes a radical and profound critique of industrial-capitalist society. Moreover., it presents in my view, a critique which is both powerful, relevant, and has enormous utility, providing a repertory of models, and structures of apprehension of the nature of the society in which the student is placed.

Identifying Student Needs

1. The majority of students of sociology in Britain come to the subject with a background in non-scientific work, whether at 'O' or 'A' level, or pre-'O' level in schools. They therefore tend to share an arts orientation to a subject. At the present time however, it is undoubtedly the case that there is no outstanding, prevailing orthodoxy in relation to the subject as a whole amongst the community of scholars who constitute "British sociologists."

Quite the contrary, in fact — there are two prevailing orthodoxies and their champions are at daggers drawn. The one emphasises the more formalised if not necessarily mathematical or statistical aspects of the discipline, speaks the language of variables of models, of rigour. (It is probably also true, that many teachers who would tend to identity with this approach are so aware of the limitations of their own training and in particular their lack of mathematical competence that they tend to play down this emphasis in their own teaching). The other prevailing orthodoxy is anti-positivist, speaks the langauge of cases, of verstehen, of naturalsm, and of situational analysis. So there is a tendency, and it is a dangerous one, for the student to perceive the need to affiliate, clearly and unambiguously, with whichever of these two models of the discipline seems the most suitable to him, or perhaps taking a cynical point of view more consistent with the power structure within the institution of which he is a member.

2. The student occupies then a particular position in the process of relating to the discipline and to us and a particular position in relation to his own progress through the educational institutional structure. I would argue that sociology crystallises two particular kinds of tension for him. One is that it reinforces the pressures of "cooling out" and of anticipatory socialisation towards the job market. The student must also have in his ears the valediction of his school master that "I suppose it is rather interesting but what kind of a job will it lead to?" This implied criticism of his chosen course of study will tend to be reinforced, naturally, by the judgments of many of his contemporaries. And, after all, he may come to believe himself and at some stage in the future he may also need to face this issue and answer the question of the possible or conceivable relevance of sociology for some specific kind of job. But sociology is interesting, it is a powerful source of illumination about the nature of the society he lives in and about the understanding of the interpersonal constraints under which he operates. It is, in short, a de-mystifying experience. Or should be. My judgement would be that the coalescence of these two rather strong pressures on a sociology student tend to promote a set of attitudes and orientations to his work which is eclectic, pragmatic and defensive. I have sometimes felt for instance when teaching third year undergraduates that they make some kind of pragmatic decision about the basic utility of the subject for them which boils down to deciding to do as well as they possibly can in their final examinations, by mugging up notes, by looking for summary books, by exam-cramming of exactly the same kind as they would expect to do if they were undertaking a course in Latin, Greek, History, or whatever and then, after finals on to unit two, the new releases, ... life.

Interpretation and the Teacher

Very broadly I suppose most teachers of sociology see their function as providing information about society in terms of a number of different frames of reference, in general as setting before the student a sociological explanation and interpretation of familiar facts and experiences. One expects that the student will bring to the subject received ideas like "All men are individuals and therefore no general explanation of their behaviour is possible", or "Human nature is basically the same everywhere," and that he will take away an analysis in terms of concepts like role, status, stratification, power and so on. Many of the ideas he takes away

will be articulated together and will form the basis for a number of critiques of particular situations, which will be encountered, and about which decisions will have to be taken. They will become part of the conceptual basis of future social action for the student. Plainly a simple, positivist explanatory account of " what things are like " in terms of primative notions of cause, process, sequence, correlation and so on, though basic to an understanding of social events can never by itself provide what is required here. The important thing is the decision to subsume some particular event or process under the category of events about which one has derived a valid or useful basis for action from theory. To decide that a situation is best explained in terms of the language of roles, or best seen in evolutionary perspective.

In short, the process of learning should involve some basis for assesment of **which** theories are useful in explaining **which** types of phenomena and problems and **which** range of data are covered by it. This should give some criteria for placing and evaluating alternative propositions about a particular field of discourse. The danger is that otherwise the "sociological understanding" taken away by the student degenerates into a bland repetition of interesting and half remembered analogies, the party-pieces of pop-sociology like Parkinson's Law, or Wilkinson's Law, which provide no criteria of relevance, no scope for evaluation and leave no basis for action.

Perhaps the most important theme is that of relevance. In what situations and for what ends does it make sense to construe society in structural-functional terms, and when does it make sense to see social process as evolutionary, or when revolutionary?

In short, although much of the subject-matter of what sociological theory makes sense within a positivist and "scientific" view of the nature of social reality, the "credible rationale" of teaching and learning such a course can be given more appropriately in existentialist terms; the end product of the learning-process is the process of learning to "dance the orange."

We agreed at the outset not to get bogged down in discussions of what theory **is**, but it will be helpful to suggest a sort of minimum definition and outline some of the characteristics of useful theory.

Sociological theory, then, is, or embodies some empirical understanding. It enables us to grasp and comprehend the nature of some reality in some way, by giving the warrant subsuming and generalizing and providing some criteria and mapping rules for locating the area of reality to which it is relevant, in an economical and powerful way.

SELECTIVE SYLLABUS

The course should take account of major recent theoretical developments, among the most important influences on which are the following :

1 The trend to formalization, and mathematization.

2 The decay of categorical thinking, and the growth of dimensional, variable-orientated approaches.

3 The reworking of the debate about the basic problem of meaning in the social sciences, for instance by Winch, Cicourel, Rudner and Rickman.

4 The lessening emphasis on structural-functionalism as a universal paradigm, and the renewed interest in phenomenological and interactionist approaches, variously illustrated by Schutz, Garfinkel, Goffman and Berger and Luckman.

5 The impact of high-speed computational machinery and the possibilities opened up for instance in the fields of simulation and structural classification.

As a matter of fact the latter seems a much underrated perspective, and one with strong implications for the underlying logic and theory. Possibly we conclude too easily that the problems in which we are **really** interested are those of CAUSE, PROCESS and IMPLICATION, and in " why? " questions generally, rather than in the "what?" problems, and "what goes with what?" questions. The problems of taxonomy and typology, and the establishment of significant bases for the comparison of social collectives establishes from the outset a multivariate approach to the subject. An indicative approach is that of SELLS in COOPER, LEAVITT and SHELLEY : **Perspectives in Organisation Research.**

There are doubtless many other influences, but these seem to characterise the contemporary theoretical scene in a fairly distinctive way. The main point is that not all theoretical development takes place within a rigid paradigmatic mould. The enormous diversity makes great pedagogic demands, when the emphasis shifts from a historical-narrative presentation to a form of skill-training.

We need now to make some major choices. The first is whether we attempt to "cover the field" and report on major issues, which an adequate sociology **should** be about, but in which the process of theory-development is not necessarily far advanced. Now, on the evidence of my experience many courses are apparently constructed on this basis, and the reading lists that result bear some relation to the caucus race in **Alice in Wonderland.** One book by everybody wins a mention, and two for for the really important writers, (perm any two from Comte, Ogburn and Giddings for a major prize). As this is a conference on teaching, it is worth raising the disutility of mammoth reading lists for students, libraries and teachers. I believe we should be much more selective and rigorous at this stage and that the criteria of selection should be those of Berger, Zelditch and Anderson . . . "a working theoretical tradition." Thus, we should concentrate on areas which have proved to be fertile, to have produced powerful work, **and are continuing to do so,** and simply leave the blind alleys, the unposed hypotheses in the unstated but important conceptual frameworks alone, **for the purpose of this course.**

There are two possible objections to this approach. It may be objected that the result of exposure to this sort of teaching would produce a breed of whiz-kids whose knowledge of the founding fathers is minimal, whose respect for their elders and betters is even less, and who date 'Modern Times' from say, 1965. Obviously this would be a bad thing (Sociology as **we** all know began with the first, post-war generation, around the early fifties . . . or with the second post-war generation, around the late fifties . . .) Obviously, too, there is such a danger. But the way to avoid such a result is not to load a lot of historical developmental lumber into the theory course, but to develop a history of theory course, along sociology of knowledge lines. This would tie up with the theory course at many points but it would have a different function in the framework of teaching.

A second objection might be that one was attempting to impose a paradigm of scientific method and pedagogic technique on an unwilling and intractable discipline. But this is not so. Perhaps some example of what is meant by "a working theoretical tradition" will elucidate this.

Plainly, a core part of such a course would be the need to develop a critique of actual theories. At the end of the course we have to be in a position to criticize and evaluate, and know how to use, to say that for instance, the functional theory of stratification is, as a general theory of stratification, so much valueless verbiage. (It seems likely that through a combination of modesty and

ignorance we only rarely adopt a wholly negative attitude to some venerable theory or other).

STRATIFICATION

Clearly the "working theoretical tradition" in the stratification field derives from Marx and Weber rather than Davies and Moore and there is quite enough contemporary work of excellance to justify the relegation of the functional approach to a footnote or to introduce it as a critique of the major theory. One could take as one's starting point the article by Lenski in Merton, Broom and Cottrell: **Sociology Today**, and the requirements which he suggests a general theory of stratification would have to fulfil. These are that it should :

1 Be affiliated to a general theory of society.
2 Give the place of stratification in social structure and social change.
3 Explain the social function of stratification.
4 Explain the invidious rankings of social status.
5 Explain the relationships of those rankings to class, and the internal bonds of classes.
6 Explain the problem of class-consciousness.
7 Explain the problem of class-conflict and class-organisation.
8 Give the social determinants of classes in detail and assign priorities to them.
9 Explain the phenomena determined by class, and the nature of class differentials.
10 Account for the nature and extent of the social mobility of individuals families, groups and strata, and relate these to each other.
11 Give a comparative analysis of the varieties of stratification.
12 Account for and explain the origin and growth of the different phenomena of stratification.

From here one could take Lenski's **Power and Privilege** and analyse to what extent the considerable lacunae which occur in what sets out to give a general theory of stratification, derive from his slightly different emphasis on the distributive system and its mechanisms.

At this stage the same general perspective conuld be taken on Marx and Weber and I would argue that from a theoretical as well as a pedagogical point of view this method of exposition would make most sense. It would enable the superiority of the Marx-Weber tradition to be demonstrated comparatively.

(Another level at which such a critique should be developed is that indicated by Sherman Krupp in **Pattern in Organisation Analysis.** Krupp concentrates on analysis of the way in which implicit values become built into the structure of a theory, even to the definition of key variables, in the development of organisation theory from Taylor through Barnard and to March and Simon).

It almost goes without saying of course that no meta-theoretical value-judgements are implied here about the type of theory that is most praiseworthy, or about the greater desirability of modern compared to classical theory. Obviously, any course on stratification which was not organised round a clear understanding of the Marxian and Weberian analysis would be grossly deficient; it would not be a course in stratification theory at all. But neither would a course which ignored the contemporary contributions of Lenski on the rank-dimensional aspect and status-consistency, of Landecker on types of class-consciousness, nor Lockwood's refinement of the WORK, STATUS and market areas of stratification to the normative relational and economic aspects. And, if it comes to a critical choice, it is arguable that while we may learn a good deal about Marx and Web-

er from studying Dahrendorf, one will learn little about Dahrendorf through a textual exegesis of Marx.

It is suggested that concentration on specific and limited areas of theory is preferable to attempting to do the rounds of "major issues." The criteria for the selection of theoretical areas should be derived from the nature of theoretical work in that area rather than from considerations of historical significance or meta-theoretical "importance."

Further limitations are necessary, however, given the requirements of syllibi which limit the amount of reading that students are able to do and the non-availability of sufficient numbers of key books in libraries. There seem to be arguments in favour of structuring the course as far as possible round a few necessary major books which would not of course, cover the subject completely. COSER & ROSENBERG: **SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY**, L. GROSS : **SYMPOSIUM ON SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY**, BERGER, ZELDITCH and ANDERSON : **SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES IN PROGRESS**, M. BLACK : **SOCIAL THEORIES OF TALCOTT PARSONS**, J. REX : **KEY PROBLEMS OF SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY.**

This gives the course some recognizable form and content, and some degree of integration can be achieved. The following outline, represents one **possible** approach.

1 The nature of sociological analysis: the status of explanation in sociology.
2 The relevance of values to the criteria of scientific evaluation: the need to make value-orientations in substantive theory explicit.
3 The action frame of reference: its relation to structural functional analysis : the possibility of formulating alternative analytical frameworks.
4 Formalization: the use of models and their limitations.

Hopefully, by this stage basic orientations to the subject are firmly established in such a way as to isolate characteristic trends in theory development, and to involve consideration of the appropriate methods and techniques of analysis.

5 The criteria of relevance, heuristic value, and power established in the first phase of the course, to examine the areas of "concensus" and "conflict" theory.
6 To develop a critique of theoretical formulations in specific institutional areas, for example in stratification and organisation analysis.
7 To relate (5) and (6) to key themes around which relevant empirical fieldwork is currently being undertaken.

A guiding objective is in L. Gross's words "to establish relevance by avoiding discussion of the general nature of theory apart from empirical examples and by avoiding discussion of specific theories apart from some larger analytical framework." The emphasis changes somewhat during the course, for theory is treated in an exemplary way in the first part of the course and in a critical way in the second.

The chief method of exposition is thus via an extended case-study of the logic of particular theories, regardless of their relative position in the historical development of the subject. Therefore thematic areas are not studies per se, but in terms of the relative utility for them of alternative theoretical formulations.

The aim is to move away from formal teaching towards a workshop approach, in which attention is paid.

i To the degree of logical articulation in conceptual schemes.

ii To developing a critique of other conceptual schemes and theories.

iii To the translation of one conceptual scheme into another and the specification of relationships between concepts.

This means less emphasis on "observations and insights," broad diagnoses of social situations, unhampered by spatio-temoral empirical reference, concept-development in the abstract, or on "hypotheses suggestive of research needs."

Perhaps, 'translation' is the key exercise, as it is in the study of language. After all we pay lip service to the analogy of theories and models with 'language' and translation is an appropriate way to develop the relevant skill and facility. Workshop sessions could be organised around Zetterberg's reformulation in axiomatic terms of a central argument in Durkheim, or the first half of March and Simon, or the L. Gross collection, but there are many more examples. One would have to make it perfectly clear that such work was selected on its pedagogic merit which would not necessarily imply corresponding theoretical quality.

To draw the threads together some what, I have argued :

1 That a "theory" course occupies a crucial position in the institutional career of the student, and should be orientated to the real, post-institutional needs of the graduate. These involve developing skill, facility and fluency with alternative models and constructions of actual and potential social situations, and developing experience at determining the relevance of particular frames of reference.

2 That is simply impossible to cover the whole field in a one or two-year course, and that the criteria for the inclusion of particular topics and themes can be given by the level of theoretical development actually attained in those areas. (This represents the operational decisions of working sociologists as to what is for them, sociologically important. To believe otherwise is like a physicist arguing that physical theory would be very different if we had a theory of antigravity).

3 That formal lecturing need not represent the only or the main teaching technique and that the nature of the work probably demands a more flexible, workshop type of situation.

4 The aim of the course, certainly for the majority who are not intending to go on to professional work in sociology, is not to turn out original sociological theorists.

5 Finally, I learn on the Confucian saw which is featured on the titlepage of the Nuffield Primary Maths Teaching Project handbook:

"I hear and I forget"

"I see and I remember"

"I do and I understand"

NOTE—The full text of David Weir's paper may be borrowed from the Honorary Secretary on application by A.T.S.S. members.

The Concept of Stratification in Introductory Economics

PAT NOBLE

INTRODUCTION

COURSES in economics are usually styled 'introductory' and they tend to be offered to the 16 plus age group. They are a steadily expanding element in adolescent education perhaps because, for younger age groups, most awareness of economic reality has to be gained indirectly. Other disciplines have an historically preemptive status in the school curriculum with the result that the elementary stages of economics, its thought modes and linguistic style, are taught to young adults at fairly high pressure. Class work and essay writing demand a facility with these new skills for both theory and topicality.

SUBJECT BOUNDARIES

Syllabus content is fairly standard across both G.C.E. and professional examinations. Even C.S.E. courses bear striking resemblances and students study production, distribution and consumption together with governmental and international economic activity. Much of the data would appear to be objective and non-controversial but at the interface with other disciplines there would seem to be areas of unintended learning. Moreover, into the subject's traditional areas, intrude concepts from other disciplines.

HOMOGENEITY AND STRATIFICATION

Stratification is not a concept explicitly taught or examined in economics. As a term, it cannot be found in syllabus or index to textbook. Teachers would not list it in essential revision notes. It would almost seem that the economist utterly ignores stratification by assuming away the differences between people. In grappling with the basic problem of allocating resources between many alternative uses the economist seeks to "optimise" the allocation — the very term denotes a virtuous activity! Allocation of resources is seen in terms of a model of perfectly competitive markets where the many who want and can pay, confront the many who produce and sell in a situation of perfect mobility and knowledge. The analysis is consistent internally when the factors are used to make the product are homogeneous, perfectly mobile and seeking to maximise their incomes whether as profits or wages. Consideration can then turn to "imperfect" models and the associated imbalance of economic powers.

Implicity economists do convey a framework of information on stratification through their studies of population mobility, inequalities in the pay structure, the survival of the small firm and the supply of labour. Treatment of the "social and economic factors" arising in such topics proves a trifle uncomfortable and is consigned to polyglot categories such as " the net advantages of a job."

Given the limited extent to which those of us teaching economics are ourselves prepared by interdisciplinary courses, this is only to be expected. The findings of social psychology and sociology may be difficult to synthesise at school level for quite different reasons than those that keep them apart at the frontiers of knowledge !

ATTITUDES AND STUDENT PERSPECTIVES

There are several areas where rigid observation of subject boundaries may present distorted perspectives to the learner. For the purposes of this conference paper, attention will be focussed on the **distribution of income but the determination of the standard of living and the means and ends of fiscal policy** would equally repay study. An attempt will be made to outline the range of information usually presented and to examine critically the language in which the student learns to handle the subject area.

Poverty levels and wage negotiations are topics of live social concern, students are aware of journalistic and academic attention. Yet Moser (1) has pointed out that neither the census data nor the family expenditure survey provide adequate data and that a general household survey is being set up "to provide information in an inter-related way, population, migration, education, healthy housing, etc., on a frequent, regular and timely basis." They are seeking social indicators of such dimensions as work satisfaction.

Students are rarely aware of the inadequacy of our data.

Student attitudes to stratification in society can certainly be influenced where they learn to account for the national income generated by the economically active, to ignore the incomes transferred to those who make up the burden of dependency and to witness the sharing out of the national "cake." The nature of this implicit teaching lies perhaps in the vocabulary used.

(1) C. Moser "Measuring the quality of life" New Society 10th December, 1970.

JUST JARGON ?

The division of labour is not a conflict situation but a mutually rewarding interdependence of 'labour' through specialisation. However, there are departures from the perfection of homogeneity that bring with them manual and white collar workers and even those with blue collars. There are differentials, demarcation disputes and comparability established by negotiation, arbitration or industrial action — however evidence of non-controversial union activity is difficult to find ! There is payment by results and the backward sloping supply curve which attempts to deal with motivation — of coal miners rather than surtax payers. There is mass production and boredom, shakeout and natural wastage but little on job enlargement or the finding of industrial psychology.

By throwing up contrasts between doctors and dockers, miners' free coal and school teachers' sartorial standards, we are polarising more than just inequalities in incomes. The examiners continue the game.

> "If a country's national income rises, does it follow that its inhabitants are correspondingly better off?" (Oxford Economic A level 1969. "Is the traditional pattern of working class life being eroded by affluence?" (Oxford Sociology A level 1970).

This second question is cited merely to stress that the sociologist is also prone to implicit normative overtones —the question could have suggested that the lives were being "enriched by prosperity," the line taken in the previous question !

CONCLUSION

When teaching about unemployment, national income determination, economic growth or productivity deals, the objective may be to expound the

(page ii)

mechanisms by which the economic system operates. The more difficult task proves to be to handle both the analysis and the technical terms in a way that leaves the student both sensitive to social situations and constructively critical of the functioning of the system.

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The Schools Council Integrated Studies Project

Report of Lecture given by David Bolam, Director of the Project

DAVID BOLAM began by outlining a justification for Integrated Studies. Present day problems were often large-scale, complex, with changing information imputs, open-ended in nature and with shifting values. Examples were the problems of crime and pollution. An integrated approach to such a problem was increasingly seen to be necessary and here was one important reason for developing this approach in schools.

He suggested that attempts to integrate work in schools often demonstrated one of three weaknesses. These were spending large amounts of time on trivial topics, failing to represent in any balanced way the subjects replaced on the timetable, and thirdly replacing ine set of unrelated subjects with a set of vaguely related sub-topics under an ambiguous heading like 'Power.'

The project included material from Geography, History, English, R.I., Science, the Expressive Arts & Social Science, though the teams chosen by heads were often on other pedagogical criteria than subject expertise.

The problem of coherence was soon encountered by the project team. Should one subject, say History, be the central focus or a faculty of subjects, say the Social Sciences, be chosen ? A third possibility was finally selected : that of taking a field of knowledge or a broad ranging question suitable for a 'public enquiry' approach.

Five key decisions were made regarding the direction the project should take in order to proceed.

a. Large themes would be chosen rather than linked subjects.

b. The objectives would include the development of skills, the formation of concepts and the presentation of information in almost equal proportions rather than put a priority on one above the others.

c. The approach was to be teacher guided rather than pupil chosen though not exclusively so.

d. The materials were to be carefully structured, but allowing for considerable innovation and personal initiative within that structure.

e. Team teaching approaches were to be encouraged and emphasised without excluding a single or paired teaching sytem.

The speaker suggested that the materials produced and on exhibition needed to be examined in the light of these policy decisions which were not in the nature of ideal choices but the ones this particular team chose to make.

He concluded by indicating some of the effects of the introduction of Integrated Studies into trial schools that had been noticed by the project team. As the trial period progressed, more and more senior staff tended to become involved as the work was perceived as interesting, important, and significant in terms of internal school politics. Then the library resources tended to be put under pressure as investigation and reference work developed. The need for resources centres was indicated here. The school accommodation was severely pressed as facilities for small groups, pairs and individual

working were usually limited. Next, a team of teachers had to meet frequently and the need for planning time was often conceded and granted. Then changes in relationships, staff to staff, pupils to pupils, and staff to pupils were noticed as the work developed. Finally, increasing demands were felt by many teachers to make cross connections with the unfamiliar subjects and to reconsider the whole business of effective assessment.

Social Science Integrated Studies

M. D. SHIPMAN

IN THE 1960's there were two parallel developments that have transformed the position of social scientists, particularly sociologists, who are teaching in schools or colleges of further education. The first development has been the rapid expansion of social science in higher and further education, the establishment of G.C.E. Sociology and the spread of the Association for the Teaching of the Social Sciences from London into the regions. This has provided a context within which social scientists could not only claim a place in reformed curricula alongside traditional subjects, but could confidently join other teachers in teams working on common themes.

The second development has been the proliferation of curriculum projects particularly from the Schools Council, many of which are concerned with the subject matter of the social sciences. This paper is concerned with one Schools Council project, the Integrated Studies Project which was based at the University of Keele between 1967 and 1971 under the direction of David Bolam. Publication by the Oxford University Press of curriculum units developed within this project will start in 1972. These units were developed by a project team that did not contain a social scientist yet contain themes, conceptual frameworks and modes of enquiry that are central to sociology. In the search for some way of reconciling the complexity of social science with the over-simplified monotony of most attempts to use it in materials developed for schools, these hybrid curriculum projects merit close attention.

The Keele Integrated Studies Project was built round the assumption that the school curriculum should contain work on the nature of social life and human relationships. It was recognised that no single subject could claim a monopoly of wisdom in these fields and that each school would mobilise different combinations of subject specialists into the teaching team. Thus the sample of themes presented for trial before publication were chosen, not to provide a full humanities course, but to explore the possible contribution of a number of subjects to the study of the relations between men at different times and at different places. Inevitably the social sciences were felt to have a central part to play.

An idea of the content of these curriculum units and their possibilities for the social scientist in schools or colleges can be gauged from the six titles. **Exploration Man** was designed to introduce the children to subjects as tools of enquiry. 'Subjects as tools' were to be used by the children to explore the world around them and their place in it. **Communicating With Others** was primarily directed at the expressive arts. However the emphasis was on

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the social context of human expression and this makes it a relevant vehicle for many of the more recent developments in the social sciences.

The third unit, **Living Together,** was specifically designed with the social sciences as its core. It contains four case studies in social organisation, Imperial China, the Dyaks of Borneo, Tristan da Cunha and a study of the children's own locality. The focus in each is on institutions such as family, work, law and order, beliefs and education. Used as the bases for comparison these case studies could introduce children not only to some fundamental concepts, but to the methods through which information about social life can be collected, classified and analysed.

The final three units were prepared for senior secondary school forms and Colleges of Further Education. **Development in West Africa,** while primarily geographical is focussed on the problems facing the Third World and follow up the comparative work in the Living Together unit. **Groups in Society** is probably the most directly sociological unit, concentrating on examples of outgroups in order to explore the nature of modern societies. Gypsies, Jews, addicts, dropouts and minority groups in the U.S.A. are included to illustrate the different values and life styles that can exist in modern society. The response of the dominant in-groups is used to explore the way groups in societies legitimate and try to impose their own way of life on others.

Man Made Man opens opportunities for the Arts and Technology, but its theme is again one receiving much attention in contemporary social science. This views man as making and re-making his own image. There is particular emphasis on the way men visually represent their nature and their lives and then learn about themselves from these man-made symbols.

The key question for the social scientists in schools in assessing new teaching material is whether there is scope for concepts and methods to be learned without eliminating the exercise of the imagination. The depressing aspect of much material for use in social science teaching is not just its monotony, but its inhibition of the imaginative. Tho introducion of 'A' level Sociology has encouraged this tendency to dehydrate the study of social life into a shrivelled list of definitions and disconnected institutions. The early emphasis on expressive activity that made the social science that often developed within English Departments so exciting has been diminished. But curriculum projects such as that developed at Keele offer hope that a counter-attack will be made, or at least that there will not be any premature disappearance of promising local experiments under the pressure of external examinations.

It is essential to avoid any closure of the social sciences at a time when they are undergoing rapid transformation. In sociology the growth points are continually linking it to other subjects. Symbolic interaction theory spans sociology and psychology. Linguistics has become of central concern in the study of socialisation. Social anthropology and sociology have emerged as the supply of pre-literate societies has dried up. Contemporary history and historical sociology are often inseperable. The ideal preparation for this variety in higher education as well as for a general education would be first a grounding in basic concepts particularly those that relate to methods rather than content in the social sciences. The second foundation should be the exercise of these concepts and methods in comparative studies of societies at different stages of development and in different places. The third object should be to encourage imagination by using fiction, drama, dance, art, film and other modes of

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expression. These three exercises would provide theoretical perspective, practical application and emotional experience of the insights of social science.

Curriculum projects, usually developed by non-social scientists, but often dealing with human relations and social organisation, often satisfy these three criteria. The Keele Integrated Studies Project does not offer a blueprint for the Humanities. It leaves the maximum amount of freedom for the teacher to develop his own approaches within the framework of his own subject. This makes it particularly suitable for social scientists looking for an approach that opens rather than closes possibilities. Because it is based on team teaching it gives social science a place alongside more established subjects in the humanities. Because it aims to initiate children into open enquiry approaches it is suitable for introducing these in a systematic way. Social scientists will find this and similar projects a most useful mine of ideas and materials, opening up possibilities in the social sciences that are too often closed for the young by conventional texts.

Report of the Working Group on C.S.E. Level

INTRODUCTION: Clarification of the concept of "stratification."

We spent some time clarifying the structure of the concept for our own guidance. As a heuristic device, we took an idea of Denis Lawton's; to set out the questions that might be asked and the generalisations that might be arrived at in the course of teaching this concept:

Questions to be asked.

1. a) Are all societies stratified?
   b) In what ways are societies stratified?

2. a) By what criteria does one identify an individual's rank?
   b) How does the individual perceive his social status?

3. How do strata persist and change?

Generalisations to be arrived at.

1. Most societies have some identifiable stratification system e.g. age-grades, caste, estate, class.

2. a) There are objective criteria:

   Occupation
   Life style
   Wealth
   Power
   Race
   Education
   Relationship to market.

   b) There are subjective criteria:
   Class consciousness.

3. Stratification is associated with:
   a) Sub-cultural value systems which maintain the status quo.
   b) Technological change which influences structural change.
   c) Ideological factors which influence social structure.

(These could also be set out in the form of teaching objectives).

TEACHING STRATEGIES

Assumptions.

To narrow the task we made the arbitrary assumptions that we were teaching a 2-year course to mixed ability co-ed groups aged 14-16.

We did not take any CSE syllabus specifically, but assumed that, whether Mode 1 or 3, it would be fairly similar to existing ones.

We did not specify what type of school, but noted that the class origins of kids in any one school are likely to be weighted towards one or other end of the class scale, and that classroom practice would have to take this into account when touching on such emotive subjects as the pupil's own place in the hierarchy.

Equally, in any multi-racial school the relation of race to class would be raised Indian children might feel sensitive about the example of caste being used.

POSSIBLE ATERNATIVE TEACHING STRATEGIES

1. To give a short (4-week) introductory course on stratification at the start of the course of 2 years.
2. To use stratification as a core concept, and to introduce different sub-concepts in different parts of the course, as when discussing work, voting, etc.

3. To use stratification to sum up the course, taking 4-6 weeks looking at the concept, while revising work done earlier under the new perspective.
4. To begin with individual project-type studies of the local community and feed in the relevant concepts in the course of helping the pupils make sense of what they found.
5 To begin with cross-cultural material in a comparative study of stratified societies.

TEACHING TECHNIQUES

There are a variety of techniques available from which the teacher can choose according to whether he wishes to use individual, group or class approaches, or a mixture. We found it helpful to set them out as follows.

Individual
Programme
Work card
Survey
Interview
Case history
Group
Game
Film
Project card
Survey
Experiment
Photoplay
Discussion
Interview
Case history
Socio-drama
Whole Class
Guest speaker
Film
Work Sheet
Experiment
Photoplay

(A useful book which works somewhat along these lines is
"Social Studies": Focus on Active Learning Scheme. Macmillan. 866 3rd Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.
Teachers' Guide. 2 dollars 91 cents can be ordered direct.

COURSE SCHEMA, METHODS AND RESOURCES

We then hammered out a few coal-face ideas. The sections roughly correspond to the three "Questions and Generalisations" used to clarify the concept.

SECTION I. STRATIFICATION

SYSTEMS OF DIFFERENT SOCIETIES

Content
a) Simple societies organised on principles of age or sex.
b) Caste system (alternatively feudal system).

To be brought out:
Common factors such as division of labour, differential esteem, control, movement/barriers, and religious justifications for each system.

Methods:
Input material probably in the form of **extracts and pictures** from appropriate anthropological texts.
Work would include:
Devising diagrams to show the social structure.
Life history of an individual in such a society.
Dramatic presentatiton of the situation i.e. oath of homage in a feudal system.
A debate on whether the system chosen could be justified.
(Half the class could take one type of society and half another).

Comment
Starting with a distant society may make it easier for children to discuss the concept without feeling threatened.
A simple structure can be used as a model against which to compare a more complex one containing anomalies.
Societies will be chosen for study on practical grounds i.e. which are well described in available books, and with reference to racial composition of class.

Note should be taken also of what has been done in earlier years i.e. don't do Netsilik Eskimos for the third time!

SECTION II. OUR SOCIETY

Content:

a) The different criteria by which we can measure stratification, leading to a static model of British society.

b) Some methodological practice in social measurement.

To be brought out:

a) Difference between objective and subjective criteria.

b) That individuals and groups may stand in different positions when measured by different criteria.

Methods

a) **Pictures of typical people (or life styles)** from magazines etc. (As a preliminary pupils could be asked simply to arrange these on a pinboard, to see whether they used class criteria or not).

Hierarchy of Power could be made visual by asking pupils to arrange pictures of politician, factory work, child, company director, teachers, union officials, typist, priest etc., to show who gives order to whom, or in other ways exercise authority over them.

Visual Model with 3 colums headed "Power, Prestige, Wealth."

Pictures or labels of typical individuals to be placed in rank order in these three columns as the group suggests. Anomalies and solid class positions can be discussed.

b) **Ranking Studies.** Pupils could make their own ranking order of typical occupations, using slips of card, and compare these with the national studies, and with the Bethnal Green deviants' version.

c) **Surveys** to be done by groups or individuals.

i) Two or more **contrasting areas,** using photos, sketches, verbal descriptions, and any other criteria such as counting smashed telephone boxes, number of garages, etc.

Could produce "photoplay" with slides and taped commentary.

ii) **Newspaper readership,** related to occupations. Could be done by direct interviews, or by asking newsagents in different areas, or using pupils who do newspaper rounds to note what streets take what kinds of paper.

iii) **Life styles** studied by using ads to show how different consumption patterns are assumed by different newspapers. Introduce market researchers' concepts A — E.

iv) **Income distribution**. Collect data from job ads, or interview the local Youth Employment Officer to enquire what wages/salaries are offered by different careers.

The information collected is then written up and produced in visual form where possible for easy assimilation by rest of class. Then **national data** can be fed in and compared, for example on wealth and income distribution.

d) **Extracts** from suitable community studies, or from Newsons' studies of child-rearing, to be read and discussed.

e) **Guests** invited to speak to class or to be interviewed by class, to contribute to understanding of subjective criteria, e.g. miners who visited schools during strike.

f) **Film** "Dispute" (British Productivity Council) shows an industrial situation and leaves the answer completely open-ended.

Comment

After Section I, the question should have arisen: "How is our society stratified?" We assumed that British children will have a more or less formulated concept of the British class system. The problem is to present them with the "social reality" in such a way, and on such a scale that it can be grasped and organised, rather than relying on their own emotionally charged

experiences and ideas, though these will inevitably — and perhaps usefully — inform the new experiences.

The emphasis is on getting pupils to find out something in a socially scientific way and then feeding in national data to enlarge the perspective. We did not, however think that direct street interviews were the best way, and, particularly on something like voting behaviour, one may have to extract and simplify from other studies.

In this section the teacher would probably be able to to refer back to earlier work done on family, kinship, work and leisure, etc., to show these in a new perpspective, or to make explicit the class patterns that may not have been discussed then. This would be good "spiralling."

SECTION III. SOCIAL MOBILITY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Content

The factors that contribute to change and to stability.

To be brought out:

a) Historical changes altering society as a whole
b) Changes affecting individuals or groups within a stable structure
c) Role of ideology.

Methods

Film: "100 Years After" (BBC) showing changes which have affected the whole of society.

Comparative data on income and living standards over the last century, including simple statistics showing the class distribution of wealth remaining very stable.

Extracts from community studies showing the difference between stable and changing communities.

Case histories of mobility, using well-known figures e.g. Lord Stokes.

Survey of intergenerational mobility, perhaps using class's own families. Record could be made of the jobs of grandfathers and fathers, and the pupil's own intentions, or geographical mobility could be recorded. This could lead to discussion of the trade-off, between class mobility and kinship links.

Glass's study, simplified, to give a national perspective.

Visual model on wealth, power, prestige, could be added to show how those "typical individuals" may have reached those positions, i.e. by ascription or achievement.

Study (or revise) extracts and data re British education system and collect evidence for education as

a ladder
an equaliser
a barrier.

Film: "Seven Up."

Game of "Life Chances." This still has to be developed, but players would start handicapped by class origins, and have to cross unequal hurdles to achieve success. Those in power can change the rules at certain points.

Film: "Psychology of Social Class" (Open University) showing how class attitudes persist in everyday life.

Comment

The group found this the most difficult section to plan for classroom teaching. We could not agree among ourselves as to whether the evidence showed more change or more stability, or the long term prospects let alone what models one could present to the pupils in terms of explanations. We agreed only that it was easiest here to give a biased view, and that teachers should present the kind of evidence outlined above and encourage discussion while leaving the conclusion completely open-ended.

ASSESSMENT

Although we did not have time to go into this in detail, we felt it would be relatively simple to do a short pre-test and post-test questionnaire.

We were in favour of assessment during the course, by personal monitoring using multiple choice self-assessment questions (as is done in the Open University course) which simply provide students with a way of checking whether or not they have understood what they have studied.

Association for the Teaching of the Social Sciences

Social Science Concepts and Classroom Methods

'O' Level Group : Stratification

I. Importance and place of Stratification in the 'O' level course.

WE NOTED that stratification as a specific topic takes up one-eighth of the AEB 'O' level syllabus, but agreed that the concept of stratification permeated the whole course, especially the sections on family and education.

This led to a general discussion of the best way of organising an 'O' level course, with specific reference to the beginning of the course and to the place of stratification in this organisation. The following possibilities were considered:

(i) Beginning with population — the argument being that this involes simple descriptive material rather than difficult concepts such as stratification. However, most of the group objected to this point of departure as population could perhaps be more fruitfully related to a discussion of social problems at the end of the course.

(ii) Beginning with basic theory — Several people related their experiences with this approach and cited the problem of teaching concepts "in a vacuum."

(iii) Beginning with a case study — After admiring this idea as an approach interesting to pupils, we discussed practical possibilities. One member had successfully used the Margaret Mead books in this way, while another had tried the Frankenberg community studies, but found them too difficult. Studies of fishermen (Tunstall) and miners (Denis et al) were mentioned but with the suggestion that they might be too long.

(iv) Beginning with a specific situation — either a real life situation or a fictional one, e.g. Robinson Crusoe, with a view to bringing out the various perspectives/approaches to the situation, e.g. economic, psychological, sociological.

(v) Beginning with the pupil's own experience — this was generally interpreted to mean that one began with the family or education, and seemed in practice to be a common starting point among group members. However discussion of the problems of pupils' preconceived notions led to some support for the idea of beginning with topics alien to pupils' experience, e.g. family life in another society (or a caste system, in the case of stratification).

(vi) Starting anywhere (almost!) — This proposal was based on a view of the syllabus as circular and linked by the recurrence of key concepts, such as stratification and socialization.

(vii) Start with stratification — on the grounds that it is an interesting and important topic which inevitably arises if one starts with either the family or education. No one had actually tried this, although most of those opening with family or education had been obliged to deal with CLASS in at least a cursory fashion.

(viii) Finish with stratification — as a summarizing topic which has been implicit throughout the course and explicitly **introduced** in areas like family, education and leisure. We thought that this approach of repeated introductions was perhaps the one most compatible with Bruner's spiral curriculum.

We agreed, however, that at some point it was necessary for class to be presented on its own as a specific topic, and not simply brought in here and there.

II. Content — Depth and Breadth of Teaching Stratification in the 'O' Level Course.

1. We all agreed that we would begin **with a definition of stratification,** probably using the analogy of layers, and also providing a series of examples. Discussion of appropriate examples led us to the question of using the pupil's own experience as a starting point in discussion. Two issues arose: the ethics of possible distress to children by using emotionally charged examples (e.g. stratification); and the utility from a learning point of view of an exchange of information and prejudice. We reached no general conclusion on the first issue; on the second we seemed to agree that pupil expression of views could be a useful aid to thought, providing we stressed that any person's individual experience is limited and must be viewed in conjunction with more general sociological studies.

2. We also considered that some **description of class in Britain** was essential although no one was willing to state a concise definition. Some elements were proposed:

(i) Some favoured a **historical description of the development of classes in Britain,** with or without a Marxist interpretation.

(ii) Others presented class in terms of **various objective characteristics** used by sociologists in labelling classes, e.g. income, speech, leisure, education, occupation, etc. This could be deduced from case studies of simply presented in descriptive fashion.

(iii) This approach was usually supplemented by comments on **subjective social class,** and on **class consciousness,** as a way of distinguishing classes from strata.

3. **Changes in the stratification system in Britain** was another topic which we agreed should be covered. Suggestions for its coverage included:

(i) An **analysis of apparent levelling in incomes** (i.e. by pointing out continuing differences in job security, method of receiving payment etc.).

(ii) The use of status as a concept to explaining why stratification persists despite working class affluence. Not everyone agreed that status was a useful concept at this level.

(iii) As a help in understanding changes in the British stratification system, it was suggested that pupils be asked to **project into the future** and discuss what barriers might hinder the development of a completetly classless society. Some questioned the feasibility of this idea, at least in cases where the pupils had all made the same firm value judgments on this issue.

4. The most difficult problem we considered was whether the descriptive approach presented thus far could in fact qualify as a presentation of the **concepts** of stratification and

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class, even at the simplest level. Were we successfully building up the concept of class by presenting it in terms of the family, class, leisure, values, life styles, etc., etc.? Or were we merely sticking the label 'class' on various bits of information in the hope that the labelling would remain long enough for examination candidates to manipulate the material in a well-labelled fashion ?

In seeking a solution to this problem no one believed that it was necessary at 'O' level to teach the concept of class in terms of Davis-Moore/Tumin or in terms of meritocracy. Yet this left us very uneasy about how to deal with a question like the one on the 1972 specimen AEB examination paper. "Is Britain becoming a classless society? "

At a more general level, however, there were some suggestions for dealing with stratification and class in a clearly conceptual way at 'O' level:

(i) One way was to distinguish among stratification systems in terms of whether or not they were explicity **'justified'** by the society's encompassing them. For example, the Indian caste system is 'justified' in terms of religious law. By contrast, the English class system does not have an identifiable justification in this sense. Much of our discussion of this approach centred on the normative overtones of 'justification', although the word was thought to be insufficiently neutral.

(ii) Another suggestion for conceptualising class at 'O' level was the use of imaginary situations to define the model of how a class society develops (the latter is closely related to the historical approach outlined above).

'A' Level Group Report

In as far as syllabuses at 'A' level already contain most of the conceptual apparatus required for the understanding of the two conference topics, the 'A' level group was much less concerned with testing Bruner's much used (or is it abused?) dictum. We felt that theory could be tackled at this level providing that adequate methods and material were implemented. Our problems derived from two other distinct sources. Firstly the heterogeneous nature of the group required that we take as our frame of reference not just the 16-18 year old 'A' level candidate in schools, but also similar students in Further Education and mature students attending night classes etc. It was decided, therefore, not to restrict ourselves to any existing syllabuses but to explore the nature of the subjects that might be taught to this kind of student. Secondly, the size of the group dictated that some specialisation must take place if any 'real' objectives were to be attained. Consequently it was decided to subdivide the group along the broad topic lines of Socialisation and Stratification. Further sub-groups of these topics emerged as the conference proceeded.

Each of the groups took as its brief two objectives.

(i) To specify the concepts essential for the teaching of these topics at this level.

(ii) The collation of materials and methods by which these concepts could be taught.

Because no chronological sequence was laid down each group had to construct courses which would be self contained or modular in structure.

STRATIFICATION

Social Class in the United Kingdom

Empirical investigation of the nature of and changes in the class structure of the United Kingdom provides a sound basis for the introduction of the theories of stratification. It was felt that it would be wisest to use this course after courses on the **family** and **education**, so that basic knowledge of these systems could be assumed.

(i) **Introduction** The basic material here would be the film 'Seven Up,' (available from Concord Films) which investigates the backgrounds, education and aspirations of 7 year old children. A worksheet for use in conjunction with the film would enable the student to list the criteria for class allocation of the children in the film.

Alternatively, a discussion of the criteria for determining class in Great Britain e.g. Aspirations, language, occupation, etc. could be used.

(ii) **Research on class.** In this section the various 'scientific' measures of class would be outlined :

i.e. (a) Registrar General 5 class and 13 socio-economic groups.

(b) Hall Jones Scale.
Both in D. C. Marsh, 'Social Structure of Britain.'

(c) M. Abrams (Research Services Ltd.), 6 groups based on occupation and income in J. A. Jackson (Ed.), Social Stratification Ch. 6.

(d) Income Distribution Data cf. Nicholson, 'Understanding Society' (Open University Course Book).

(e) The 'Deviant' Gradings in P. Wilmott and M. Young, 'Family and Class in a London Suburb.'

The material in all of the references could be duplicated in summatory form and used by the students as the basis for discussion of the criteria used in gradings and changes in class structure.

(iii) Class Corellates. Introductory analysis could be carried out by duplicating for the students statistical evidence on the correlation between occupational groups and :

Child rearing
(Newsons)
Education
(Robbins; Douglas etc.)

Voting
(Worsley; Butler and Stokes)
Life Chances
(Arie in Butterworth and Weir)
Images of Society
(Goldthorpe and Lockwood in Butterworth and Weir)

Information can also be obtained from G. Sargeant **'Statistical Source book for Sociologists.'**

Students working in groups could carry out detailed work on specific correlates, written material being used as the basis for later seminar discussion. A group on infant care might use for example:

J. & E. Newson, 'Patterns of Infant Care': '4 years old in an Urban Community.'
Klein Vol. I., samples from English Cultures; summaries of Branch Street; Ship Street, Ashton.
R. Hogart, 'The Uses of Literacy.'
O. Banks, 'Sociology of Education,' (chapter 4 on value orientations).

Reference to the content and evidence of 'Seven Up' could also be made.

(iv) On the basis of understanding of the detail of the correlates **generalisations could now be made** as to possible explanations. A particular concept which could prove useful might be Value Orientations, cf. O. Bank's discussion of the work of F. Kluckholm and Strodtbeck, 'Sociology of Education.'

(v) **The weakness of all postulated correlates** could be highlighted by :

(a) subjective dimension of class in voting behaviour cf. Butler and Stokes.
(b) The Paddington station experiment (B.B.C. Radio Prospect Series) on the subjective aspects of class.

(vi) **Embourgeoisement.** The whole of this section would be taken up with testing the allegation that 'We are all middle class now.'

(a) **Statement of the thesis.** Summation of the arguement can be found in ch. I Goldthorpe and Lockwood 'Affluent Worker in the Class Structure.'

(b) **Discussion of general beliefs for the existence of greater equality.**
—before the law,
—educational opportunity,
—political — enfranchisement,
—working class pressure groups,
—redistribution of income,
—life chances in the welfare state.

Contradictory evidence can be found in C. Owen, 'Social Stratification' (ch. 6), R. Titmuss, Income Distribution and Social Change.
T. Bottomore, Classes in Modern Society.

(c) **Implications of Embourgeoisement** The Butterworth and Weir excerpt of Goldthorpe and Lockwood's 1963 Sociological Review Article would be the best source. Here they state that evidence in economic, normative and relational terms would constitute validation of the thesis. This article would require deep analysis and the realisation that it contains no evidence, simply the criteria in terms of which judgement on evidence might be made.

(d) **Evidence for Embourgeoisement.** Depth study of 'The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure.' Students in groups could prepare material on one of :

(i) Methodology,
(ii) Economic evidence,
(iii) Relations between white collar workers and manual workers,
(iv) Norms and aspirations,

These are chapter headings of Vol. III of the study. Group discussion in seminar form would enable conclusions to be drawn as to the validity or otherwise of the thesis

(vii) **Ideology.**

It would be possible here to introduce the notion of consensus in society and to examine the extent to which this has been effected by the existence of beliefs in the existence of equality.

(a) Marx's view that a limited amount of upward mobility would make the position of the bourgeoisie more secure cf. Worsley on Social Mobility.
(b) 'Definition of the Situation' Thomas in Coser and Rosenberg, 'Sociological Theory.'

(viii) **Power and Stratification.** This area would deal with the relationship between the political structure and the class structure. It would not be introduced specifically into the discussion of stratification but would act as the stepping stone into the discussion of the Political system.

SOCIAL MOBILITY

The concepts of Social Mobility at 'A' level tend to be such esoteric subjects, that most of this sub-group's time was spent devising games which could be used to introduce the processes as well as act as anchorage points for discussion of the concepts One model considered for the introduction of comparative stratification systems was the use of Leagues with movement within the system being related to type of stratification and stage of development.

For the discussion of the advanced industrialised nations' class / status systems and the connotations of sponsored and contest (only tenuously related to Turner's concepts) inter and intragenerational mobility it was felt that a game based on a 'snakes and ladders' principle could be used. (cf. accompanying diagram).

The game can be played by any number of players using two dice and marker tokens. Structurally, it falls into two parts. The first stage deals directly with the influence of the educational system on occupational categories and also with 'sponsorship'. The second stage in the game could be used as the pivotal point for class discussion once the game had been played and the channelling effects noticed. The most immediate points to be brought out could be the relationship between primary education and class, the concepts of life chances, the ranking of different kinds of educational establishments, the relative statuses of the occupational categories, the problems of gradation and measurement. Because there are five occupations listed and only four classes, some discussion of this last item will have to take place.

The object of the game is to reach square 20 having achieved some measure of upward social mobility. This basic value is open to discussion via Merton's "Universalistic achievement orientation." Square 20 might stand for retirement or death. Steps in intragenerational mobility are indicated by arrows (pointing left and right). Students and Teachers can obviously hazard their own reasons but some are offered below.

Higher Civil Service (arrow pointing right) corruption or negligence.
Lower Professional (arrow pointing Left) internal promotion.
Bank Clerk (arrow pointing Left) gains further qualifications at night school.

Various stages in the game are marked with + or —. These could be used to show acquisition or loss of signs of social status e.g. own house, colour TV, redundancy, heart attack, early retirement. Again the students should be able to furnish a myriad of possibilities. Each of these could be given a weighting by the teacher so that relative scores can be kept. If for example, an individual in Lane 5 lands on square 10 he wins the pools. What effect does this have on social status? Other 'bonanzas' could be winning a competition; an unforseen legacy, success in the entertainment world, etc.

It will be seen that the game is considered infinitely flexible. Teachers are invited to build in their own variations, extensions and even restructuring. It is to be hoped that the improvements which teachers incorporate will stimulate them to further innovations in teaching technique.

THEORIES OF STRATIFICATION

Most of the ideas which would be dealt with within this section have been implicit in the work covered in the earlier sections. Having analysed most of the empirical data we felt that it would be appropriate at this juncture to deal formally with the major theoretical perspectives. Of the three approaches available ie. (a) Great Men approach (b) Conflict theory v. Consen-

sus Theory (c) Class/Status/Power, none seemed to be obviously superior and therefore elements of all three were included in the work scheme. The major teaching technique envisaged would be student based seminars, where prepared papers would be read and discussed. It is hoped that this method will facilitate a clear delineation of the problems which stratification theory seeks to answer. Finally the exigencies of time were appreciated and therefore although the overall sequence ought to remain, the amount of time spent on each particular unit would be at the teacher's discretion. The materials cited are for the most part familiar reference works, since the amount of time available did not allow us to explore the possibility of using tapes, films, games, etc.

I **The general introduction** could take the form of a reference back to the previous areas of study as well as discussions of students own perceived status differences and explanations.

II The General Lecture outlining the different theories on a conflict/consensus continum.

III Functionalist Theory : Davis and Moore. This would take the form of a student paper on Davis and Moore's paper 'Some Principles of Stratification.' (Bobbs Merril Reprint No. 568. Also in Bendix and Lipset 'Class Status and Power' and Coser and Rosenberg 'Sociological Theory.')

IV **Tumin's criticism of Davis and Moore.** A student paper using the same sources as above.

V Teacher directed synthesis of the work so far This would be an appropriate point for some interim evaluation of understanding.

VI **Marx.** Karl Marx's Theory of Social Classes in Bendix and Lipset.

VII **Weber.** Class, Status and Party. Weber, Ibid.

VIII **Comparison of Marx and Weber.** Ch. I. 'The Nature of Social Class : in Classes in Modern Society.' T. Bottomore.

IX **Summary** of Class, status and power as defined by Marx and Weber, Exposition and discussion of the adequacy of Marx's scheme in relation to present day society would be detailed in the final sections.

X **Darendorf 'Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society'** (extracts only).

XI **Reappraisal of Goldthorpe and Lockwood's** work especially Vol. III. 'The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure.

XII **Ruling Class or Power Elite** : the material here would refer back to the last section of Social Stratification in Great Britain. Reference T. Bottomore, Elites and Society. Ch. II.

XIII The preceding work concentrated on testing the adequacy of the Marxist analysis for changing class systems in Modern Britain. It would now be possible to broaden the frame of reference to deal with Clark Kerr's view (Industrialism and Industrial Man) that all societies which industrialise are heading towards similar stratification systems. The easiest direct comparison would be with Russia.

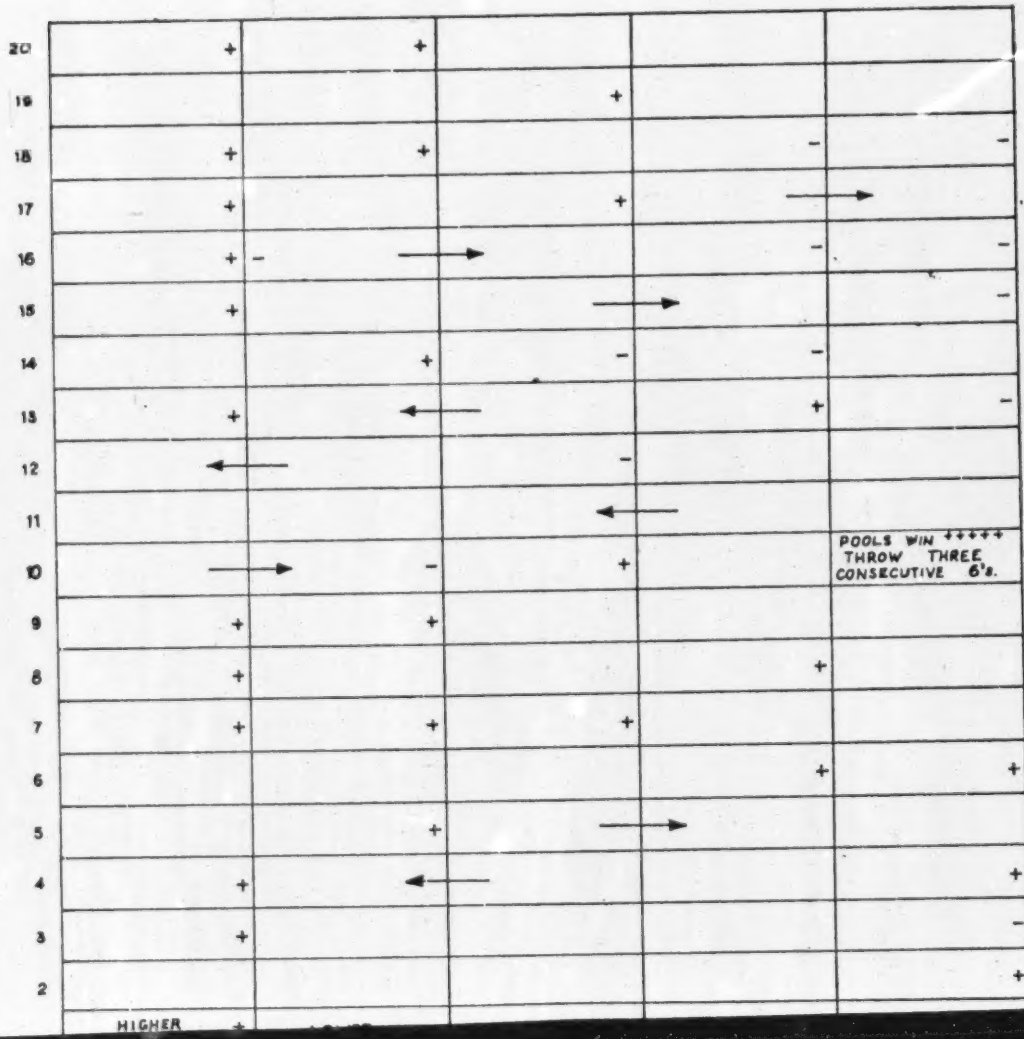
The end of Inequality, David Lane.
Stratification in Socialist Societies, F. Parkin.
Stratification in Industrial Societies, J. H. Goldthorpe, Sociological Review 1964.

XIV Short answer test on sections X-XIII.

XV Final Teacher directed synthesis and evaluation of learning experiences.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND POVERTY

Arising out of the initial general discussion was the awareness that the concepts of poverty was all too often inadequately treated at 'A' level. A large section of the group felt that Poverty should not be relegated to an addendum on Social Disorganisation but that the phenomenon was implicit in any notion of social stratification. Thus the major objective of the course became to link stratification theory and poverty along the lines laid down in L. Cozer's paper 'The sociology of poverty.' Social Problems Vol. 13. A secondary


20
19
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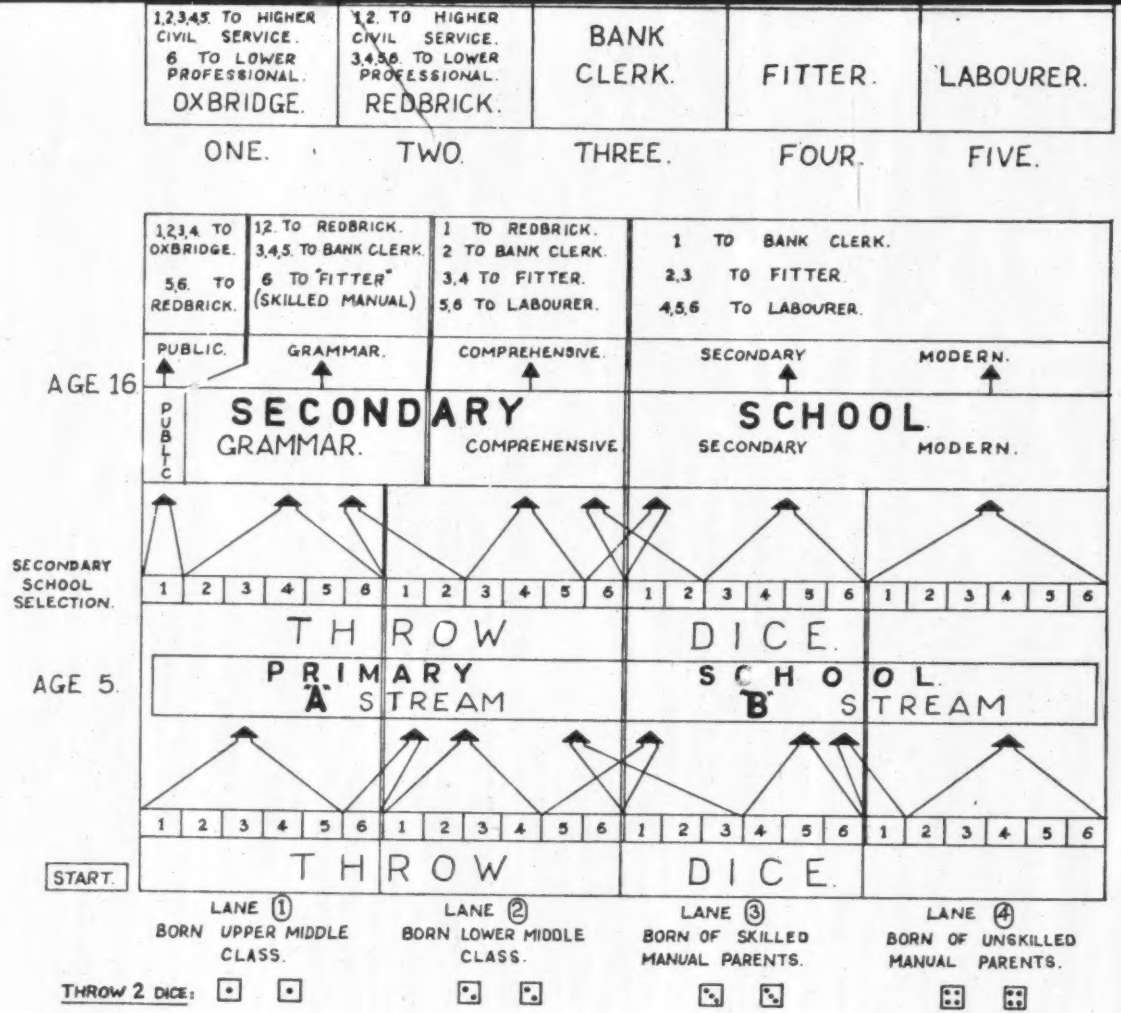
POOLS WIN +++++
THROW THREE
CONSECUTIVE 6's.
HIGHER


1,2,3,4,5 TO HIGHER CIVIL SERVICE.
6 TO LOWER PROFESSIONAL.
OXBRIDGE.
1,2 TO HIGHER CIVIL SERVICE.
3,4,5,6 TO LOWER PROFESSIONAL.
REDBRICK.
BANK CLERK.
FITTER.
LABOURER.
ONE.
TWO.
THREE.
FOUR.
FIVE.
1,2,3,4 TO OXBRIDGE.
5,6 TO REDBRICK.
1,2 TO REDBRICK.
3,4,5 TO BANK CLERK.
6 TO "FITTER" (SKILLED MANUAL)
1 TO REDBRICK.
2 TO BANK CLERK.
3,4 TO FITTER.
5,6 TO LABOURER.
1 TO BANK CLERK.
2,3 TO FITTER.
4,5,6 TO LABOURER.
PUBLIC.
GRAMMAR.
COMPREHENSIVE.
SECONDARY
MODERN.
AGE 16
PUBLIC
SECONDARY
GRAMMAR.
COMPREHENSIVE
SCHOOL
SECONDARY
MODERN.
SECONDARY SCHOOL SELECTION.
1 2 3 4 5 6
THROW DICE.
AGE 5.
PRIMARY SCHOOL
"A" STREAM
"B" STREAM
START.
THROW DICE.
LANE (1)
BORN UPPER MIDDLE CLASS.
LANE (2)
BORN LOWER MIDDLE CLASS.
LANE (3)
BORN OF SKILLED MANUAL PARENTS.
LANE (4)
BORN OF UNSKILLED MANUAL PARENTS.
THROW 2 DICE:

objective is to pinpoint the nature and extent of poverty both in Britain and the rest of the world.

The basic structure of the course is modular in form, thus allowing for maximum flexibility and teacher independence. The structure is not sequential.

Module I Introduction. The three starting points listed below are **not** seen as mutually exclusive, nor is any relative value attached to them. The method chosen will depend on the type of student.

(a) Historical background. Egalitarianism and the welfare state.
(b) Statistical evidence on the distribution of wealth and income.
(c) Audio visual aids, film and tape recordings on past and present poverty.

Materials F. Engels: 'The condition of the working classes in England.'
Samuel Sailors : 'Self Help.'
Beveridge Report.
BBC videotape : City Life in 19th century.
Statistics on Income Distribution can be found in .
Lloyds Bank Leaflet : 'The British Economy.'
Social Trends H.M.S.O.
Britain : An Official Handbook. H.M.S.O.

Module II Definition

The problem of defining poverty is obviously one which has ideological overtones. Each of the following methods could be discussed to provide an evaluation of their analytic usefulness.

(a) class project on the construction of a subsistence budget.
(b) Analysis of Rowntree's definition.
(c) Class project analysis of people living on the 'poverty line.'
(d) Exploration of the implication of Coser's definition.
(e) Runciman's relative deprivation.

Materials

Rowntree subsistence level and diets in Poverty and Morale in a Nottingham Community : St. Ann's; Coates and Silburn.
A subsistence definition of Poverty No. 2501; Extreme Poverty No. 2502 (Schools Council/Nuffield Humanities Pack : 'Poverty.')
Both are School's Council's Humanities project 'Poverty' leaflets. Contemporary materials in newspapers, e.g. 'Sunday Times' feature on the Budget of a School Teacher.

Module III. The Causes of Poverty

This module attempts to delineate some of the casual factors of poverty, e.g. large families and low incomes; chronic sickness ; one parent families ; unemployment ; old age.

Material

Beveridge Report, H.M.S.O.
The circumstances of Families H.M.S.O.
Humanities Project :
Leaflets :
No. 2585 Where are the workshy?
No. 2510 The working poor
No. 2511 Why the poor are getting Poorer.

Module IV. The subjective experience of Poverty.

Once some knowledge of the nature and extent of Poverty has been gained it would be possible to examine the subjective reality of the situation, through for example, relationships with authority or the feeling of deprivation. One salutary experience might be the filling out of Supplementary Benefit or Family Income Supplement forms.

Materials

Films cf. below
Coates and Silburn op. cit.

Module V. The objective Nature of Poverty.

The preceding module could then be contrasted with notions as :

Poverty as a social state
Cultural deprivation
The culture of poverty

Materials

Statistics on distribution of income and wealth.

Child poverty Action Group Journal, 'Poverty' Winter, 1971.
Statistics on Infant Mortality, Life Expectancy, Educational Opportunity Plowden Report.
Maps of the extent of Poverty from Charles Booth's survey.
Coser op. cit.
Film: 'If at first you don't succeed, you don't succeed.' B.B.C.
Oscar Lewis. The Culture of Poverty, Scientific American Offprints.

Module VI. International comparisons through use of

(a) Statistical data.
(b) Studies of deprived societies, e.g. Mexico and India.

This final module would provide the broader understanding stated as one of the objectives of the course.

Materials

Film: 'Calcutta' cf. below.
U.N. statistics on health, life expectancy, etc.
Oscar Lewis: 'The Children of Sanchez.'
M. Harrington: 'The other America.'
D. Caplovity: 'The Poor Pay More.'

Evaluation since the aims of this particular course are both cognitive and affective no easy method of evaluation is available. However the extent of attitude change and empathy can be ascertained through the conventional methods of 'feedback' discussions and written work.

General Summary of Source Material

✱ indicates highly recommended for student use.

Culture and Poverty
Valentine.
✱ Poverty. The Forgotten Englishmen.
Coates and Silburn.
Poverty, Deprivation and Morale in a Nottingham Community: St. Ann's.
Coates and Silburn.
Life and Labour of the London Poor.
C. Booth.
Poverty. A Study of Town Life.
S. Rowntree.
The Concept of Poverty.
P. Townshend (ed)
The Other America.
M. Harrington.
Family Expenditure Survey.
H.M.S.O.

Novels

The Grapes of Wrath.
J. Steinbeck.
The Road to Wigan Pier.
George Orwell.
Down and Out in Paris and London.
George Orwell.
Bleak House, etc.
Dickens.

Journals and Publications

Child poverty Action Group Journal 'Poverty' especially Winter, 1971.
New Society.
Schools Council/Nuffield Humanities Project 'Poverty.'

Films

'Cathy come Home.' 1966. 70 mins.
Concord £3.60.
Extract 11 mins. B.F.I. 75p.
(often obtainable from local 'Shelter' group.
St. Ann's. 40 mins.
Concord/Shelter £3.20.
(Thames TV documentary based on Coates and Silburn's study).
Slum Housing. 30 mins.
Concord £1.50.
(A Rediffusion 'This Week' programme on Glasgow).
Calcutta. 92 mins.
Connioseum £10.00. extract 10 mins. BFI. £1.00.
(concentrates on the insoluble problem of slums in Calcutta).

Poetry

'The Common Muse.'
Anthology of British Ballad Poetry.
Penguin.

SOCIALISATION

Unlike the group dealing with stratification no immediately obvious means of dissecting and teaching socialisation was discernable. After preliminary discussion two broad approaches were decided upon. Firstly, one could deal with the topic throughout the whole of an 'A' level course because the ideas in-

volved are relevant to various kinds of socialising agents, e.g. Family, school, religion, peer group. The second approach would deal specifically with socialisation and by contrasting various models try to give insight into the nature of the process itself.

1 Ethnomethodological Approach.

The aim of this approach was to arrive at an understanding of the concept indirectly, by prompting a questioning of the taken-for-granted values and norms of our culture. It would, therefore, run concurrently with the conventional syllabus.

Introduction : This could be based on discussion of courtship and marriage, both of which were felt to be relevant—

Student discussion of marriage and courtship.

P. Berger's description of various 'normal' patterns in Invitation to Sociology (P105).

comparisons could be drawn with

(a) Victorian England.
(b) Bethnal Green.
(c) Pakistan.

Materials : Schools Council/Nuffield Humanities pack on the Family would be useful for (a) and (c) while Wilmott and Young's Family and Kinship in East London would be essential for (b).

From this discussion students should have begun to realise that 'natural' and 'normal' phenomena are descriptive of particular cultures in particular societies.

Informal Socialisation.

It should now be possible to follow through to an elaboration of the implicit norms and values in our culture. One method would be the use of the notion of Personal space (Goffman). The reality of these norms could be articulated by students challenging them in real life situations. e.g.:

A. Space between people in conversation in public. Students could converse in the street but gradually increase the distance between each other. What is the critical distance before people walk between them?

B. Space around people in bus queues. This could easily be tested by 'crowding.'

C. Space around people in pubs, cafes, on buses and trains. This is similarly verifiable.

On the basis of these experiments students would be asked to explain how these norms were created and how they are enforced.

The concept of **Role** expectations and cognitions may be crucial, particularly the processes by which such expectations and cognitions are transmitted. Some of the films from Woman's Liberation may be useful here.

Agencies of Socialisation.

Leading on from role would be an examination of the various agencies of socialisation as set out by P. Berger, Op. cit. A wall chart available from Pictorial Charts Trust, London, could also be used. Other material such as the films, 'Seven Up' and 'Seven plus Seven' (available from Concord Films) might prove invaluable.

Formal Socialisation.

Following on from the understanding of the informal socialisation process would come the formal areas of **legal and moral education and the whole area of social control.**

Because it is not envisaged that the course be taught as an entity, but that it provide the thread when dealing with disparate areas of sociology no adequate means of evaluation is available. However, discussion of the connotations of the words 'natural' and 'normal' would enable the teacher to discover whether the distinctive nature of this approach had been grasped.

2 Socialisation as a specific topic.

After some detailed discussion of the nature of socialisation, it became apparent that an exhaustive account of the topic would comprise the whole of 'A' level syllabuses as presently constructed. It was therefore agreed to abstract specific areas in order to deal with socialisation.

Definition

'The ways in which the individual learns the values, beliefs and roles which underwrite the social system, in

which he participates.' This obviously implies that socialisation is part of social learning and is therefore a life-long process.

SECTION I.

An examination of the nature of culture through intra and cross cultural studies.
e.g. Coming of age in Samoa; M. Mead.
The Young Pretenders; J. B. Mays.
II Transmission of Culture through interaction. This would hinge specifically on the notion of 'self and 'others.'
III Socialisation and the Problem of Order—the preparation of the individual for his role in society. 'To balance individual self expression with a degree of conformity.' B. D. Davis and A. Gibson 'The Social Education of the Adolescent.'
IV Socialisation Agencies. Fletcher's diagram in 'Family and Marriage in Britain' would enable a discussion of the agencies. This could be enlarged to encompass differential socialisation in relation to, for example, educational opportunities.
Material
Bernstein, particularly 'A critique of Compensatory Education.'
Klein . Samples from English Cultures.
Douglas : Home and School.
Morrison : Schools and Socialisation.
Film : 'Seven Up' and 'Seven plus Seven.'
V Non-normative behaviour. The welding of the external orientated functionalist approach and the individual based interpersonal approach may best be illustrated through the study of those who do not conform to the consensus of norms and values.
Materials :
Catalogue on Criminology, York General Studies Project.
Hell's Angels; H. S. Thompson.
Becoming a Marihuana user; H. Becker, A.J.S., 1953.
VI Socialisation and Social Control. The separation of these two topics may be viewed as something of an artificial distinction. Social Control is intimately related with socialisation in that the latter legitimises through the internalisation of accepted patterns of behaviour. Reference to Goffman's work 'Asylums' could be made to show that socialisation is an on-going process, a dialectic between the individual and his social environment.

ADDENDUM

It must be emphasised that although stratification and socialisation were treated distinctly, this was for administrative purposes only. The two concepts are irrevocably intertwined. It would be impossible to teach stratification without reference to differential socialisation (cf. Culture of Poverty, different child rearing patterns, differential educational opportunities etc.) and vice versa. However, although the two are in such close proximity, there ought to be defined areas of linkage. One of these could well be Oscar Lewis's notion of the Culture of Poverty. A different, perhaps more fruitful approach might be based on Basil Bernstein's work on restricted and elaborated codes and the cultural underpinnings that subserve them. The implications of Bernstein's work for the sociology of education have long been apparent, but it is only recently that he has explicitly dealt with the classification and framing of educational knowledge and the likely consequences of the hypothetical movement from 'collection' to 'integrated' type curricula. The linguistic dichotomy of elaborated and restricted codes based on universalistic and particularistic orders of meaning would seem to be of great importance since the movement towards integration implies inter disciplinary studies, informal teaching techniques, erosion of authoritarian discipline, all of which when related to children's differential liguistic socialisation, may provide further barriers to equality of opportunity in education and thus re-inforce the existing stratification system.

The Association for the Teaching of the Social Sciences

Promotes and develops the teaching of the Social Sciences, both as separate disciplines and in an integrated form, at primary, secondary and tertiary stages of education.

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PRINTED BY J. BREWER & SON,
PETER STREET, CHORLEY,
LANCASHIRE.